

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,

UNDER THE SANCTION OF
THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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Monthly Summary.

DOMESTIC.—The Hon. Charles Sumner has been making a brief stay in London. He left on the 23d for a quiet French watering-place, not far from Havre, where he intends to remain six weeks or more, for the benefit of the sea-bathing. We found him looking very well, and he expressed himself as feeling quite satisfied of his perfect recovery after his visit to the sea-side. He says that he still experiences a slight morbid irritability of the spinal column, but believes he shall be able to resume his duties in the Senate in December.

The Hon. Mr. Seward has also passed through London. He is now in Paris. Our friends will probably remember that he is one of the candidates who has been put up for the Presidency in 1860.

On Saturday, the 9th ult., a most important judgment was given in the Court of Common Pleas, in the case of *Santos versus Illidge* and others, according to which the negro slaves purchased by the *Imperial Brazilian Mining Company*, and by other companies, are declared to have been illegally required. These companies have, for many years, defied the law. It remains to be seen what course can now be adopted against them.* A question has been put to Lord John Russell, in the House of Commons, to ascertain whether Government intended to alter the law. The reply was, that no such intention was entertained.

On Friday, the 15th ult., John Bardoe,

otherwise Ojee Ojaun, an African, who had been acquitted a few days before on a charge of having unlawfully stabbed a city police-officer, committed suicide in Clerkenwell-gaol. It came out in evidence on his trial that he had been kidnapped by the captain of a Sardinian vessel, on the coast of Africa, and brought to London, where he was placed in charge of one Nicolai Madgie, a Genoese, who keeps a ship-chandler's shop in the Minories. The poor African was under the impression that the constable whom he stabbed was going to take him back into slavery. On that occasion he received a very severe injury on the head, and his reason seems to have been affected thereby, as that one side soon took entire possession of his mind. After his acquittal, on the 6th of July, Colonel Hughes, of the *Strangers' Home for Asiatics*, took him to that asylum, but on the 8th, in the night, he was seized with a sudden fit of frenzy, and made a murderous attack upon his companions whilst they were asleep. He was fortunately overpowered by the attendants, and the police conveyed him to the Clerkenwell House of Detention. He seemed at first quiet, but expressed a fear that he was to be soon executed. Under this impression he strangled himself in the night. We shall return to this subject in our next.

Another African, a youth named Stephen Beckley, a native of Sierra Leone, who was kidnapped three years ago by the French, and taken to Cayenne, in French Guiana, to work, whence he made his escape, has given a recital of his adventures to a crowded meeting held in Spafiel's Chapel, Exmouth-street, Clerkenwell, Geo. Thompson, Esq., presiding. Much sympathy has

* An unusual press of matter prevents our inserting this important case, and the judgment, in our present Number, but we shall do so in our next.—ED. A. S. R.

been manifested in his behalf, and the Rev. T. E. Thoresby, the pastor of the chapel, is taking the most lively interest in his case. He is to be sent back to Sierra Leone, to proceed with his studies to qualify himself as a schoolmaster.

On the 11th ult. Lord Brougham presented several petitions to the House of Lords, praying for a Committee of Inquiry into the system of Coolie immigration.

On the 13th, a large Meeting on the same subject was held at the London Tavern, Lord Brougham in the chair, when a memorial to the Duke of Newcastle was adopted unanimously.

On the 23rd, a deputation, headed by Lord Brougham, waited upon the Duke of Newcastle, and presented the Memorial above referred to. The deputation was numerous and influential.

The Newcastle and Gateshead Anti-Slavery Society have issued an appeal for aiding W. H. Bailey, the proprietor of the *Free South*. Answers to Henry Richardson, Newcastle on Tyne.

JAMAICA.—The Jamaica papers bring intelligence of the death of the Rev. James Cox, a worthy Missionary of the Wesleyan body, who had laboured only two years in the island; and of Mrs. Webb, the coloured lady, whose readings of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in England caused so much excitement. She died on the 17th of June, of consumption. Mr. Cox died on the 30th of May.

The ex-emperor Soulouque resides in retirement at Kingston, not without hopes of being restored to his throne. The Governor of Jamaica has informed Soulouque, that so long as he continues to live quietly, the British flag will shelter him, but if he commence any political intrigues he will be forthwith arrested.

BRITISH GUIANA.—A Mr. G. Chapman has inaugurated a new immigration. At his own cost and risk, he has set on foot a system, under proper agency, for the introduction of Barbadians as labourers, three "batches" of whom have already reached the colony, and obtained desirable employment. The success which has attended the first experiments has encouraged Mr. Chapman to take measures for extending his operations, with the view of bringing large numbers of Barbadians into British Guiana, by the schooners which trade between Barbados and Demerara. This seems to be a proper and a wholesome "immigration," so far as we have means of judging, and it is well spoken of by the Colonial Press.

During the week ending 15th June, two arrivals of Indian immigrants had taken place at George-town. The first in the *Simla*, after a passage of ninety-four days, with 364 persons on board, eleven having died on the voyage. The second in the *Ellenborough*, after

a passage of ninety-seven days, with 315 immigrants, forty having died during that time. In the latter case, the doctor died six days after the ship left Calcutta, but she did not put back, so that there was no medical officer on board during the voyage, nor does any attempt appear to have been made to obtain assistance from any port on the way.

On the 29th of June Mr. Bascom, financial representative for George-town, gave notice of a resolution to raise a loan of £500,000 for the introduction of Chinese immigrants, the interest and the sinking fund of the loan to be provided for by a tax upon produce. The project was opposed by Mr. Jones, who submitted an amendment, fixing the amount to be paid by the planter for his Chinese labourer at seventy dollars, leaving the balance of the cost of introduction, whatever that might be, together with the expenses incurred in China, to be defrayed by the colony. Mr. Bascom was obliged to withdraw his resolution in favour of the amendment.

N.B.—We are reluctantly compelled to defer our summary of American news till next month, owing to the pressure of other matter.

PARLIAMENTARY RECORD.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

July 11th.

IMMIGRATION OF COOLIES.

LORD BROUGHAM rose to present petitions, on the subject of the introduction of Coolies into the West India Colonies, from the ministers and officers of the *Baptist Churches of Jamaica*, adopted at their Annual Association, and representing 40,000 persons; from the *Baptist Churches of Brown's Town, Sturge Town, and Bethany, St. Ann's*, representing 3000 people; from the *Members of the Baptist Church of Trelawney*; from the *Baptist Church and Congregation of Gibraltar, St. Ann's*; from the members of the *Trelawney Association of Baptist Churches*, representing 10,000 persons; from the Rev. James Rooms, of the *London Missionary Society, Barbice*; from a large number of *labouring people* belonging to *Plantation de Edward, Sir James, and Rossignol, West Bank, River Barbice, British Guiana*; from a large number of the same at *Uthaca, Zoorg-en-Hoop, West Bank, River Barbice*; from the *inhabitants of Spalding, England*; from the Clergy and Merchants of Liverpool; from the *Liverpool Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society*; from the *inhabitants of Banbury*, signed by the Mayor and the Vicar, and the officers of the *Banbury Anti-Slavery Society*; and from the *inhabitants of Chelmsford*.

In presenting these petitions, all of them important on account of the number of persons they represented in the West Indies and in England, Lord Brougham said they were

founded upon complaints that the planters had the means of obtaining sufficient labour from the free negroes—though this was a difficult question, open to doubt, and therefore he would not attempt to decide upon it—and the petitioners objected to the employment of Coolies altogether. They objected to their introduction, because they were said not to be wanted; because the greater proportion of the expense incidental to the obtaining of Coolie labour fell upon the very class whose labour was superseded by its introduction; and because these Coolies were obtained by fraud and violence. They were induced to engage themselves under promises which were not fulfilled, and suffered in some cases bad treatment, in many indifferent, at the hands of their employers; and due precautions were not observed to maintain a proportion between the sexes, thus giving rise to great social evils. These, and other objections, were the pleas upon which the petitioners asked that their Lordships' House should appoint a committee to investigate and inquire thoroughly into the whole question.

The DUKE OF NEWCASTLE said this question was of far too great importance, and far too complicated to be elaborately discussed upon the presentation of a petition. The petitioners believed that the introduction of additional labour was not required. [Lord Brougham.—“I do not decide one way or the other.”] Without entering into a long discussion he might put it to his noble and learned friend whether sufficient proof of the necessity of an introduction of labour was not given by the single fact, that in all cases in which additional labour had been introduced, the colonists, who were the best judges of their own interests, had taxed themselves to obtain that supply of labour. His noble and learned friend had expressed a desire that a committee should be appointed this session to inquire into this most important subject. He (the Duke of Newcastle) should be most unwilling to resist the appointment of such a committee if the session were not so far advanced. He would put it to his noble and learned friend whether any great object could be obtained by the appointment of a committee this session. The public might be misled by the publication of only part of the evidence. His noble and learned friend must admit that the inhabitants of these sugar-growing colonies would feel themselves aggrieved if gentlemen should be heard on only one side of the case, and their evidence were circulated during the Parliamentary recess. He thought that the law was sufficiently strong, and only needed a stricter enforcement. If, however, his noble and learned friend thought that he could suggest an improvement of the law, he should be happy to support any measure he might introduce for its improvement.

After a few words from the EARL OF AIRLIE,

LORD BROUGHAM said he had no desire that the committee should hear only one-sided evidence. If it were too late to appoint a committee this session, why should not a commission be appointed?

The subject then dropped.

WENDELL PHILLIPS ON SLAVERY.

WE ask no excuse for submitting to our friends the two following addresses, delivered by Wendell Phillips; the first at the Anniversary Meeting of the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, the second at the sixth anniversary of the *New-York City Anti-Slavery Society*, and to which we referred in our last. These furnish a fair illustration of the powers of this wonderfully gifted man, who, but for his being an ultra-abolitionist, might have attained to the highest position at the American bar and in the American Senate. Probably no man has made greater personal sacrifices of position to his anti-slavery convictions than Wendell Phillips.

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

“MR. CHAIRMAN:—I am rejoiced to see before me perhaps the largest, certainly one of the largest, anti-slavery gatherings that Boston has ever known; one of the largest that has ever come to hear the opinion and purpose of this Society on the subject of Slavery. I have seen Faneuil Hall crowded, many times, when some startling event brought all Boston together; but on occasions like this, where no particular incident, but only an ordinary session of our Convention solicited an audience, we have, I may safely say, the largest gathering which Boston has ever given. We meet under fair auspices then, and there certainly is a marked change in the public feeling toward us. This very hall reminds me how great the change is in the public sentiment in Massachusetts. For I do not regard the anti-slavery enterprise as single. It is one of a brotherhood. It only makes part of the great modern idea of human rights, individual rights; the sanctity and worth of the individual; the safety of leaving the individual as unfettered as possible. The whole history of Massachusetts, from its very commencement, is a history of the constant reaching out of brave and bold minds to fathom and sound the untrodden ocean beyond, and see how safely men could throw aside the staylances, the safeguards, the bulwarks, the anchorages of old institutions, and trust to unfettered, individual man. Our movement is a part of this history. Once, the wealthy thought they must take care of the poor—see that they did not hurt the State. Once, the educated thought they must restrain the ignorant, and provide the conscience and the safeguard which God forgot to put into the human heart when he pronounced man perfect. Our past is a history of the loosening and lessening of these chains, and letting the man stand up alone. You sit to-

night under the roof where, for fifteen years, Theodore Parker and others of us have uttered religious sentiments, which, when I came to the bar, I saw a man indicted for blasphemy for uttering, under the old law of the Puritans; and nothing but the energetic protest given awakened men, for the first time, to the danger of the latent bigotry of Massachusetts, saved the State from the disgrace of putting freedom of religious thought into its common jail, without sympathy—as it did actually close the door upon the victim, quickly released. That was freedom of the mind. Massachusetts recognised then the safety of throwing away the spiritual chains which she had not, up to that moment, recognised the fact that she wore. Ours is the freedom of the body. This Meeting to-night, counted by thousands, assembled in the most luxurious hall of the city—is it not evidence of progress? Edward Everett, a little more than twenty years ago, recommended the Legislature to provide every one of us with a cell in the State Prison, for the sin of coming to such meetings as this. Indeed, we should make a jolly company! I do not mean to say, that in bold, manly, outspoken, unequivocal and unmistakable language, Governor Everett recommended that course, because *that is not in him.* He belongs to that immortal class,

‘Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike;
Just hints a fault, and hesitates dislike.’

He let the Legislature understand, in delicate, guarded, equivocal, nicely-chosen, and double-meaning phrases,—habitual to him,—that the opinion of the Governor, if they would not press him too hard, was, that such a Meeting as this was indictable at common law, and the penalty should be imprisonment; for such a Meeting hazarded the peace and perpetuity, both of the plantation and the Union!

“A Voice: ‘Where is Edward Everett now?’

“Mr. Phillips. I do not know. All I know is, that this is a very comfortable State Prison, if it be indeed the one Massachusetts provides for us in 1859.

“Now, I use these facts thus. We are not so good as our fathers, if we are just like them; because every age has its own duties, and to be really like our fathers, we must outdo them. That is, we must take their essential principles, and not stopping at their use of them, go on and apply them, as they did, to the pressing *evil* of *THE DAY*, do *our* duty in *our* age, not merely perpetuate their merits, like the Chinese, making his whole set with a crack according to the model sent him. Massachusetts achieved for us spiritual liberty. The common sense of the Commonwealth gracefully affected not to understand Governor Everett, and here are we to-day, in the enjoyment of the utmost freedom of discussion on the subject of Slavery.

“But look at this platform, ladies and gentlemen; look at this Meeting. It is met to consider the great sin of the age; the great blot on American character, the black stain on American pretension to Republicanism—that which Europe considers our great, momentous question—the only one which darkens the brightness of our

national horizon. Every sixth man and woman in the country liable to be sold at auction; every sixth man and woman in the nation forbidden by statute to learn to read; an indictable offence to teach every sixth man and woman in the country to read the alphabet; every sixth man and woman in the nation forbidden to have a husband or wife; the sanctity of marriage, by statute, systematically and of purpose, annihilated in regard to one-sixth part of a nation calling itself Christian! That is the sin which, year after year, we assemble to consider. No clergyman of any repute puts his foot on this platform; no politician who has any hopes puts his foot on this platform; no man, whose name can by any possibility be offered for the suffrages of the people, ever puts his foot upon this platform. The greatest moral question of the age, the only moral issue under discussion in a country that looks to forty thousand pulpits, and the Bible as the guides of its religious sense, instead of these boards being covered by clergymen, so that I, a lawyer, cannot find a square inch to stand upon, it is impossible to find a Doctor of Divinity to stare at.

“That is the condition of the anti-slavery movement. I allow there are other movements; there is a political movement, for certain territorial purposes; there is a Republican party, for certain state purposes. I am speaking of the heart of Massachusetts—the religious purpose of Massachusetts, grappling with the great sin of thirty millions of people. Year after year, it comes up solely represented by this assemblage, and no man who loves his reputation is to be found here. Take that fact, and go with it as a test of the state of the public mind, under the influences of the religious and intellectual forces that go to make public opinion.

“I do not descend to any individual cases—mine is a national indictment. Why do I make it? Because I want a country to love. As Burke said, ‘In order to love your country, your country must be loveable.’ I remember, twenty years ago, when I read the life of Granville Sharpe, the London apprentice, the lawyer, who studied law in order to probe the slave-question, the incident in his life that touched me closest was the escape of a poor negro whom he found on board a vessel which had reached the Downs, and was under weigh for the West Indies. Chained to the mast, the hopeless victim was straining his gaze, through eyes bathed in tears, to catch a last glimpse of that land which he had fondly thought would be a shelter for him: an hour more, he would lose sight of it for ever; but he struggled to keep the sight of it to the last. The stout Englishman plants his foot on the deck, spite of the captain’s threats and violence. The chain is burst. Crying now for joy, the glad freeman follows Sharpe into his boat, who has the right to tell him, ‘The land you struggled to keep sight of through those bitter tears, has a safe shelter for you for ever.’ God bless it! Is not that a land to be loved?

“Now, Mr. Chairman, I long for the same proud pleasure in Massachusetts that Sharpe had on the glad bosom of the Thames that day.

“About a fortnight ago, there anchored on the

South side of Cape Cod, in one of those quiet harbours, a Massachusetts brig. Chained to her capstan was one of the noblest men who ever breathed Massachusetts' air.

"You and I were born free—little credit to us. He, not only, under God, was born a free man, though in chains, but took his life in his right hand, and, at the risk of death, hid himself in the hold of the vessel,—without air, without food, without room to move until he got near to Massachusetts' waters. Then, when nature, exhausted, could bear it no longer, he was obliged to make his way to the deck to die. They seized him; chained him to the capstan; and made their arrangements to carry him back to Slavery. The telegraph flashed forth and back the question how this should be done. Meanwhile, through the long still hours of a New-England Sabbath, the pirate-ship floated calm on the sunny sea. In Boston streets men whispered—on the harbour-wharf the owners took counsel—before they went in to worship God, or after the form of prayer was finished, and not one finger was lifted for the man who carried all Bunker-Hill in his heart. Not one rebellious pulse stirred that village; not one pulpit exhortation, not one Massachusetts' protest. The day rolled on; Massachusetts' men unfurled their sails, weighed anchor, and took him back to that hell which, though hotter than Rome ever threatened, will never be hot enough for them. That is your Massachusetts! Last winter, this body led the way in going to the State-House, and asking of a Republican—of a REPUBLICAN—of a REPUBLICAN Legislature, a law that should make it a State Prison offence to carry back a man, no matter where from, or with what horrid rites devoted to the fate of a slave, from the soil of Massachusetts to bondage. That Yankee captain carried his victim back, to avoid the payment of a thousand dollars. We asked a Republican Legislature to make it cost him more to carry him back than to let him stay. And they said, 'No; it is unconstitutional, and we should hazard our success in 1860 to make humanity legal in Massachusetts.' Now, there is the head and front of our treason. We care nothing for that Constitution. Our object, plainly avowed, is to take this State of ours out of a Union which makes the professedly anti-slavery members of a Republican Legislature obliged by their oaths to allow that act to be done in any guise, with or without formalities. Which side do you take in this controversy? How far have you travelled in this Massachusetts' groove? How individual and democratic are you? I told you that Massachusetts has been gradually growing to throw off the superstitious regard for ecclesiastical and civil fetters. How much have your minds profited by that progress? How ready are you to join us?"

"I will tell you, gentlemen, exactly what I count upon. I do not count simply upon the distinct and specific anti-slavery purpose of Massachusetts. I trust partly in the general growth of individuals, and (in its broad and generous sense) *Democratic* independence! Let me tell you what I mean. Last month, there was published in this city a pleasant libel in the form of

a dainty volume, called 'The Life of Chief Justice Parsons,' written by a man who pretends to be his son, and is, I understand, a professor in Harvard University. Well, that is no very great title! One such professor murdered his friend lately, and this other has murdered his father. Of course, I suppose this gentleman imagines that in the statements he makes regarding his father, he is doing him honour. He presents in one chapter the Chief Justice on the bench, and groups there some dozen anecdotes, going to show that Parsons, the worthy old Federalist, the head of the 'Essex Junto,' the model judge, the boast of Massachusetts' law, was in fact a Jeffries;—that he undertook to tell Otis, and Dexter, and Blake, and Burgess, when he did not think a case deserved to be argued, they should not argue it; made himself, like the man in Hood's comic song, judge, jury, and executioner; and threatened to commit Francis Blake if he attempted to address a jury on the evidence when he, the judge, forbade him to do so. Now, of course, this is all false. The poor demented Whig has scraped together the refuse of bar-room talk and old wives' gossip as his idea of history and honourable conduct, and hides his father's brow with such a chaplet of nightshade. Chief Justice Parsons was never half so bad as that; Otis was not a coward; Blake was not a fool; Dexter was not a spaniel; and Burgess was not a puppy. But the reason I tell you the story is this: it opens to you the heart of a fossil-hunker. It is as good as a specimen for Agassiz, to get at the nature of an extinct race. The writer is an old Whig,—an old Winthrop, Fillmore, fossil, Webster, Fugitive-Slave Bill, Massachusetts' politician, smothered and chilled into a Harvard College Professor, and is endeavouring to compliment and weave a chaplet of laurel for his father. Of course, he wants to make it green and beautiful; only, unconsciously, he paints a Jeffries! That is the muscle of Massachusetts which holds on to the Union. That is the side of Massachusetts that has not learned any thing for fifty years. That is the side of Massachusetts, that thinks if there was not the Constitution of '87, Charles River would flow up hill—that we sleep and digest in consequence of James Buchanan's being President, just 'as the sun rises because the cock crows.'

"Now, how much have you got away from that type of mind? You do not get away from it necessarily by being a professed anti-slavery man; you do not get away from it simply by being a Republican. Oh, no! The highest office in the gift of the Republican party of Massachusetts is held to-day, and within our meeting was its incumbent this very day, by a man who did not blush to say, within five years, that if ever his party got the control of the nation, the man who talked disunion in Massachusetts should hang as high as the man who talked disunion in the Carolinas! That is the Republican Senatorship of Massachusetts! It is not necessary that a man who is a Republican should be as blind as that—Oh, no! I am only showing you that a man who is a Republican, and is in office, has not necessarily got his eyes open.

"What is necessary in order to understand the

argument I address to you is this: that you should recognise the fact, that a negro is a man, and that all the moral principles which apply to white men apply to him; and that, when the State undertakes to apply them to him, she should apply them with as rigid a loyalty to justice as if his skin were white. Many of you think you have learned that; but you have not. When I say, 'A negro is a man,' you say, 'Of course he is; how foolish to tire us with such a truism as that!' Well, my doubting friend, suppose that negro to-night should cut his master's throat, and burn down his dwelling, what name would you give to him? I would call him George Washington, William Wallace, William Tell, John Hancock, carved in ebony—what would you call him? Does your heart leap up and say, 'Would to God I too were of the heroic class like him!' or do you cry out, 'Fanaticism!'—'Insurrection!'—'Bloodshed!'—'Murder!' Or do you say, 'A nigger George Washington?' A great deal in that word! William H. Seward understands how much there is in it; for I am told he said, when somebody asked him if Douglas would ever be President, 'No, sir; no man will ever be President of the United States who spells 'negro' with two g's.' Seward knows that a negro is a man. Seward knows, though I think he dare not say it yet, that the negro is a basis upon which, and for which, it would be honourable to break this Union asunder. That very anecdote which I have told you shows how deep down in the very substratum of the man's moral nature has penetrated the irresistible conviction that the black man has reason enough, in his wrongs and in his chains, by which to weigh and to test the Union itself.

"Now, Mr. Chairman, we have a petition which we mean to present to the Legislature—a petition which carries out the very idea which I have been endeavouring to set before you. It is a disunion petition—I allow it. It is a petition that sets its right foot on the Constitution of 1787. It says:

To the Honourable Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts.

"The undersigned, citizens of Massachusetts, respectfully ask you to put an end to SLAVE-HUNTING in Massachusetts, by enacting that no person, who has been held as a slave, shall be delivered up, by any officer or court, State or Federal, within this Commonwealth, to any one claiming him on the ground that he owes 'service or labour' to such claimant, by the laws of one of the slave States of this Union."

SLAVERY IN NEW MEXICO.

THE following is the abstract of the Act referred to in our summary last month, recently passed by the Legislative Assembly of New Mexico:

"AN ACT to provide for the protection of property in slaves.

"Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of NEW MEXICO: :

"SEC. 2. Every person who shall steal any slave with the intent that the OWNER, or any one having an interest in such slave, present or future, vested or contingent, legal or equitable, shall be deprived of the use or benefit of such slave, shall upon conviction suffer imprisonment for a term not more than ten nor less than four years, and be fined in a sum not more than two thousand nor less than five hundred dollars. And any person who shall by violence, seduction, or other means, take and carry or entice away any slave, with the like intent, shall be deemed and held for every purpose whatever, to have stolen such slave within the meaning of this Act.

"SEC. 5. Any person who shall hire, entice, persuade, or in any manner induce any slave to absent himself from the service or custody of his OWNER or master, or who shall upon any pretence harbour or maintain any slave to absent himself from such service or custody, shall upon conviction thereof suffer fine and imprisonment as provided in section 4 of this Act, and shall besides be liable to the owner or master in a civil suit for damages.

"SEC. 11. If any sheriff of any county within this Territory shall fail or refuse to receive and keep with proper care, any runaway slave so offered to him for safe-keeping . . . he shall be fined in a sum not less than five hundred dollars . . . and shall be ineligible for re-election to said office.

"SEC. 19. Any OWNER of a slave who shall suffer such slave to hire his own time, or go at large and employ himself as a free man for more than twenty-four hours at one time, shall, upon conviction thereof . . . be fined in a sum not exceeding one hundred dollars to enure to the County Treasury.

"SEC. 22. No slave, free negro, or mulatto, shall be permitted to give evidence in any court against a free white person, but against each other they shall be competent witnesses!

"SEC. 29. * * * The EMANCIPATION of slaves within this Territory IS TOTALLY PROHIBITED! * * *

"SEC. 25. No slave shall be permitted to go from the premises of his OWNER or master after sunset or before sunrise, without a written pass signifying the particular place or places to which such slave is permitted to go; and any white person authorized to take any slave who upon demand shall not exhibit such pass . . . shall cause such slave to be whipped with not more than thirty-nine stripes upon his bare back.

"SEC. 30. That this Act shall take effect from and after its passage."

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

MONDAY, AUGUST 1, 1859.

THE LATE MR. JOSEPH STURGE.

THE Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* have passed the following Minute relating to their deceased condutor, Mr Joseph Sturge:

"The Committee, in affectionate remembrance of their dear and valued friend Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, desire to record on their Minutes their sense of the deep loss which the anti-slavery cause has sustained by his decease, which occurred on the 14th day of May last. He was one of the founders of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, and for many years zealously laboured with the Committee to carry out that object, which, as a Christian philanthropist, was dear to his heart. His interest and his exertions were unwearied, being sustained by the principle of religious duty, as well as by the kindly feelings of a nature keenly alive to the oppression or the sufferings of his fellow-creatures, without distinction of country or of colour. To alleviate these, his time, his property, his exertions were largely devoted. His independence of judgment, his courage and perseverance, combined with great tenderness of heart, and generous sympathies, gave practical vigour and consistency to his proceedings, and secured the esteem even of those who differed from, or opposed his views. The divine blessing, we believe, rested upon his honest and unselfish exertions. By his wise counsels, during the struggle for the emancipation of the negroes in the British West-India colonies, he greatly promoted that measure of justice and righteousness.

"At a subsequent period, by means of the accurate information which he procured during a personal visit to those islands, of the utterly unsatisfactory working of the Apprenticeship system, he was mainly instrumental in its abolition.

"Still more recently he visited the United States, in order that he might witness and examine for himself the state of Slavery in the Union, and the actual condition of the slave in his various relations. The result only strengthened his judgment, and his convictions that Slavery is a cruel and criminal invasion of the dearest rights of man, and a sin against his Maker, and incited him to increased efforts for its extinction.

"He continued steadfast in his labours in the cause of humanity to the end of his days. The love of his Saviour was, we believe, the origin and the stimulus of his love to his fellow men, and of his unwearied exertions on their behalf. May many who are left behind, encouraged by his bright example, and under the same constraining influence, pursue the same course!"

COOLIE AND 'CHINESE IMMIGRATION TO THE WEST INDIES.

DEPUTATION TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

On Saturday, the 23d ult., a Deputation from the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* waited on the Duke of Newcastle, by appointment, at the Colonial Office, to present a Memorial on the subject of the present system of Coolie immigration to the West Indies. The Deputation, which was introduced by Lord Brougham, consisted of the following gentlemen: Mr. E. Baines, M.P.; Mr. F. Crossley, M.P.; the Revs. Dr. Carlile, Woolwich, W. G. Barrett, Croydon, late of Jamaica and British Guiana, H. Richard, and J. Burns, London; Dr. Hodgkin and Dr. Norton Shaw; Mr. Consul M'Leod, late of Mozambique; Messrs. J. Candler, Chelmsford; S. Sturge, Brixton; Thomas Harvey, Leeds; George Thompson, recently from India; Stephen Bourne, late of Jamaica; W. Janson; W. Allen; J. Jowitt, Junr., Leeds; Joseph Cooper; J. R. Burchett; Josiah Forster; E. Miles; Thomas Norton; Joseph Clark, Southampton; J. Purcell Fitzgerald, Woodbridge; T. H. Gladstone; Robert Forster; F. W. Chesson; A. K. Isbister, and L. A. Chamerovzow.

Mr. CHAMEROVZOW, Secretary to the Society, said that the Memorial which it was his duty to read to his Grace was passed at a public meeting held on the 13th of that month, Lord Brougham in the chair, when a resolution was also passed that his lordship should sign the Memorial on behalf of the meeting, and of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, which originated it.

Mr. CHAMEROVZOW then read the Memorial, which was as follows—

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE,
HER MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR
THE COLONIES.

THE respectful Memorial of the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, on their own behalf, and on that of a Public Meeting held at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street, on Wednesday the 13th of July 1859, the Right Honorable Lord Brougham in the chair, sheweth—

That Your Memorialists view with much anxiety and alarm the attempt which is being made to introduce into the British West-India Colonies an unlimited number of Indians, Chinese, and Africans, in a great measure at the public expense, and only partially at that of the parties who are to benefit by the labour thus introduced.

That, while Your Memorialists consider, and have always maintained, that it is desirable to encourage a perfectly free and voluntary emigration of the natives of one country into another, they are of opinion that the various schemes which have hitherto been sanctioned for introducing as immi-

grant labourers into the British West-India Colonies the natives of India, Africa, and China, have been productive of a large amount of misery, and have entailed a great mortality upon the immigrants, and involved in debt the colonies which have received them.

That Your Memorialists, without detailing the abuses and evils of the present system of so-called immigration, consider it to be especially objectionable, because no relative proportion between the sexes is maintained, because no measures are adopted for the moral or spiritual welfare of the immigrants, and because there is no effectual government agency to check the abuses incidental to the procuring of them, either in India or in China in the absence of which the traffic has degenerated into a new form of the slave-trade.

That Your Memorialists have recently had their attention specially drawn to the whole question of immigration, in consequence of the sanction which has been given by Her Majesty's Government to a Bill, passed in December last by the Jamaica Legislature, identical in its main features with one that was disallowed a year before, and of an official announcement to the effect that the Emperor of the French had consented to abandon his scheme for purchasing Africans as labourers for the French colonies, on condition of his being permitted to obtain an unlimited supply of immigrants from India and China, under the sanction of the British Government.

That Your Memorialists consider it highly reprehensible that British ships and British capital should be employed in procuring Indians and Chinese, and conveying them to Cuba—a foreign colony where Slavery exists—and that measures ought to be adopted to prohibit the practice: at the same time, Your Memorialists are of opinion, that so long as the present system of obtaining Indians and Chinese under contract to serve for a term of years in the British colonies is persevered in, Her Majesty's Government cannot remonstrate with effect with foreign Governments, for following its own example, even in cases where the admitted evils and abuses of the system are more flagrant.

That Your Memorialists have observed that the main plea upon which a demand for immigrant labour in the British colonies is advanced, is an alleged deficiency in the available supply of Creole labour, sustained by allegations of the indolence of the enfranchised labouring classes, and their disinclination to work for wages.

That, while Your Memorialists possess conclusive evidence that the latter allegations are absolutely untrue, they are not prepared to assert, that, in relation to the vexed question of the supply of available

labour, the position of every colony is the same; nor do they consider that in any of them the deficiency is so great as is represented, and more especially in Jamaica, where considerable numbers of labourers are in absolute want of employment. Were it, however, otherwise, as is alleged, Your Memorialists are thoroughly satisfied that the present system of supplying the British West-India colonies, British Guiana, and Mauritius, with immigrants, is fraught with the gravest evils, of which its expensiveness and its onerousness upon the native labouring population are two of the least; yet being in no wise averse to promote a perfectly free immigration into those colonies, at the sole expense of those who employ the foreign labourer, they are of opinion that the time has arrived for a full and an impartial inquiry into the whole subject of the supply of labour, and the operation of the schemes of immigration which have hitherto been tried.

That Your Memorialists, therefore, most respectfully pray that you will be pleased to promote the appointment of a Committee of the House of Lords, to inquire into the condition of the West Indies, so far as regards the alleged deficiency of labour in them, and the causes thereof, and into the working of the present system of immigration in those colonies which have received immigrants, as well as into the means employed in the East Indies and in China, to obtain immigrants from those countries.

LORD BROUGHAM said that he need not enter further into the subject than to remind his Grace of what passed in the House of Lords both last session and this. The object was inquiry, because there were many things asserted by one side, and denied by the other; and until there was an investigation, it was impossible to tell on which side the truth lay. For his part, he had no doubt on which side it lay; but there was no way of convincing the world but by inquiry. They might be right only to a certain extent, and inquiry might modify their opinions. An incident had occurred at the late meeting which had not been mentioned in the papers. A gentleman who was supposed to be adverse to the opinions of the meeting wished to be heard, and there was a disposition not to hear him; but he, as Chairman, insisted on his being heard respectfully, the more so that he differed from the meeting, and the result was, that he was not only attentively, but even kindly heard. The gentleman's statement was a very clear one, and Mr. Chamerovzow answered it; but that fact shewed that they were disposed to hear both sides. As to the mode of proceeding, the Memorial asked for a Committee, but he feared there was no time for it. A week or ten days would not suffice for this inquiry, and his Grace should therefore consider whether there was not another course to be taken, such as by a Commission.

The DUKE OF NEWCASTLE said, that before referring to the proposal for a Commission, perhaps he would be allowed to make a few remarks on the

Memorial, though he did not wish either to contradict its statements, or to express an opinion in a dogmatic spirit, but rather with a view to elicit truth. He thought they were misled in some of their representations. With respect to the number of immigrants being unlimited, they would find upon inquiry that it was not so, but that the number was regulated by the governors of the different colonies. If the fact were as stated, it was an irregularity, of which he should be glad to be informed. As regarded Africans, they were, he thought, entirely mistaken; practically, the importation of Africans to the British colonies had entirely ceased for some years. The statement of the immigration of the Chinese at the public expense was also incorrect, it was at the expense of the parties interested. Lord Brougham, the other day, stated very correctly in the House of Lords, that it was partly at the expense of the labourers, whose labour was interfered with by the immigration; but he had seen, a few days ago, a curious statement from one of the colonies, Jamaica, he believed, that there the operation had been a very singular one. The greater proportion of the emancipated slaves in Jamaica preferring to keep a piece of ground of their own and grow vegetables, found an additional market for their produce by the introduction of these immigrants, and among a great portion of them a feeling that it was beneficial was beginning to grow up. As to the mortality, there was no denying that in some ships it was much greater than ought to be if proper care was taken; but he did not think they had a right to charge these isolated instances against the system. We had precisely the same difficulty to contend with in the immigration of labourers from this country, which had been attended with almost as fearful a loss of life as had attended the immigration into the colonies. He thought they would find that the mortality upon an average did not exceed 5 or 6 per cent. on board the ships, and the amount was not so much in the islands. As to the disproportion between the sexes, that was a most important point, and required farther correction; but in many of the ships which had gone out of late, the proportion had been something like 8 to 10. He did not mean that that was like the proportion of the whole, but only that the evil was in progress of correction. There was another very important charge, that those immigrants receive no moral or spiritual instruction. If that was the case practically, it was certainly not so legislatively; and so far as the information of the office went, a very different state of things ought to exist. He knew that ordinances had been sent out, instituting schools for those immigrants, and if these had been dead letters, that was a very strong argument indeed for the suppression of the system. That Her Majesty's Government could hardly remonstrate with other powers was an argument that would hardly hold good, for surely there was great difference between the immigration of labourers into the British colonies and into slave colonies such as Cuba. He was not aware that the charge against British ships was correct, but if so, it had nothing to do with the British colonies or the system, though it might be a matter for the interference of the legislature to stop it. The introduction of labourers, however, into free States and slave States could not be compared, because

in the latter, they must necessarily become slaves, and can never return, whereas from our States they certainly do return, and the regulations by which they are returnable have been rigidly enforced. As to the question of inquiry, it would be impossible to have a Committee at this period of the session; but apart from that, he had great doubts as to the utility of inquiry by a Committee. It would be impossible to bring over the governors of colonies, while still more important would be the evidence of some of the planters themselves, who would not come, or if they did, it would be at very great expense and inconvenience, which would not be justifiable, if the information could be obtained in any other way. We had a great deal of information already. Nothing was concealed from Parliament, at least it was so some years ago, and the Emigration Commissioners he knew, from his own personal knowledge, were most anxious to prevent any abuse in connection with the scheme. We had then very considerable power of supervision, and an immense amount of information which was annually laid before Parliament; but if further inquiry was necessary, he thought it would be far better that it should take place by a Commission. But what he thought would answer every purpose still better was, if some of the gentlemen present would assist him in drawing up questions which would be sent out, and he would undertake that they would be answered by persons of authority in the colonies, and they could also be sent to other persons to whom it might be thought proper to send them.

Mr. CHAMEROVZOW, on the part of the Deputation, replied, that it would be seen from the enactments that the number of Indians, Chinese, and Africans was practically unlimited. These enactments did not define the number that was to be introduced, but left it to the discretion of the governors, and therefore there was really no limitation, inasmuch as the governor, with the consent of the planters, might introduce as many as he thought proper, though, of course, the planters would take care not to ask for a larger number of immigrants than they might find it convenient to pay for either wholly or in part out of the colonial purse. With reference to the introduction of Africans, he believed his Grace was in error, for a reference to the Jamaica Bill would shew that there was originally a clause in it by which Africans were permitted to be imported.

The DUKE OF NEWCASTLE said, that what he meant was, that no Africans had been introduced. He would not undertake to say that it was not authorised by the Act, but he would state positively that for five or six years none had been imported.

Mr. CHAMEROVZOW said, that 300 Africans had been introduced into Jamaica two years ago upon the capture of the ship *Arab*. The Society did not lay stress, however, upon that fact, because the captured vessel was a slaver, nor did they allege that African immigration had been carried on of late years. The Society's objection was, that African immigration was virtually thrown open to our colonies, while the Government strenuously opposed it on the part of the Emperor of the French. He might add, however, upon the authority of Mr. Consul M'Leod, late of Mozambique, that, in 1836, 500 Africans had been introduced into the Mauritius, from the East

coast, by the *Mascareignes*. Chinese had been introduced into British Guiana, but the expense was now defrayed only to a certain extent by the planters, as appeared from recent proceedings in the Court of Policy, the planters having to pay two-thirds, and the public one-third. With regard to Jamaica, 30,000*l.*, or one-eighth of the entire revenue, was absorbed in the interest on the guaranteed loan and the sinking fund for immigration purposes; and out of a debt of 913,000*l.*, 400,000*l.*, or nearly one-half, had been incurred for immigration, and as the labouring coloured population was as twenty-four to one of the white, they had to pay largely towards defraying the amount of the sinking fund and the burden of the debt. They also paid a considerable proportion of the export duties. The bulk of the coffee produced in Jamaica was grown by the people who were formerly slaves; a considerable proportion of sugar and many other commodities were also grown by them; and so far from its being correct that they were not taxed for this immigration, 12 per cent. of their small income was taken from them. Supposing them to be employed every day at 1*s.* a-day, it was as though the planter put his hand into the pocket of those people and took away 2*l.* out of the 16*l.* which they earned. With regard to the mortality in the immigration from China to Cuba, it varied from 17 to 60 per cent. So long as immigration was perfectly free as from China to California, the mortality was almost nothing. But in China it was the slave-trade in disguise, as appeared from the published statements of Sir John Bowring. The mortality on Coolie immigration was not so large, but it was still excessive. With regard to the mortality of Coolies in the islands, it was stated to be 35 per cent. in five years by Sir E. B. Lytton, while the Society set it down as 50 per cent., but even admitting the statement of Sir E. B. Lytton to be correct, it would be found that Coolie labour was more destructive to life than the slave-labour of Cuba. With regard to the proportion of the sexes, his Grace was right to a certain extent; it was true, he believed, with regard to Mauritius, but a reference to the Blue Book, would shew that it was not true as regarded all our West Indian colonies. It appeared, too, from a discussion in the Court of Policy of British Guiana that the governor stated that, unless the proportions were corrected, he could not permit the continuance of the immigration. With reference to the advantages of immigration to the coolie, he believed they were very much exaggerated. In the aggregate the sums they took away appeared large, but in fact, when divided amongst those who returned, the average to each was very small. Mr. Carbery, of British Guiana, asserts that one penny or twopence a-day is the utmost they can save from their earnings. If proof were wanting that the Indians themselves are dissatisfied, it would be found in Mr. Caird's letter to Government. Mr. Caird is the Colonial Immigration Agent at Calcutta, and he says that if the Protector of immigrants were to tell the Indian Coolie all he is expected to tell him respecting the fate that awaits him in the colonies, the colonists could not obtain any immigrants at all. He submitted that this was admitting that the Government agents were parties to a system of deception in

order to induce the Coolies to emigrate. He did not see how, so long as our Government sanctioned a system of fraud and violence, we could remonstrate with the French Government for attempting to carry out a similar system. With regard to the mode of inquiry, it had appeared to the Committee that it would be a very desirable thing to have the evidence of many persons now in this country, such as Lord Elgin and Sir John Bowring, and that much good might be done, even though the Committee sat but a short time. But he had not the slightest faith in a Commission sent out to the West Indies, unless one member of it should be appointed by the Government, another by the West-India party, and another by the Anti-Slavery Society. He would add, that within the last year, official circulars, requesting information on the working of the immigration system, had been addressed by the Governor of some of the colonies to the stipendiary magistrates, but these gentlemen had found it almost impossible to obtain accurate information; so that, unless the Commission were armed with extraordinary powers, he could scarcely hope much good would result from it. But with respect to the suggestion of his Grace, he thought it deserving of their best consideration, because, if they could obtain replies to special questions, they would be put into the position of obtaining the information they wanted, which was the object of a fair and impartial inquiry.

Mr. JOSEPH COOPER called his Grace's attention to the fact which he had ascertained, that the freight and passage-money of Coolies from India to Cuba were frequently insured in British ships.

The DUKE OF NEWCASTLE desired that Mr. Cooper should send him some facts, though the matter did not properly concern the Colonial Office, nor had he any power over the Government of Cuba.

Mr. JOSEPH COOPER also said that it was believed that it was to the introduction of the 500 Africans into Mauritius in 1856 the origin of that French scheme, which was so much regretted in this country, was owing.

Dr. HODGKIN said that the mortality which took place in the ships, and when the labourers arrived, did not represent the whole; a very great deal of it took place before they left their own country. He had been informed by a gentleman who had resided in China, that parts of the rivers were rendered offensive by the number of the bodies of these poor creatures. That was so lately as the year before last. With regard to the Chinese, at least, he had heard that it was almost impossible to obtain a proportionate number of females. With regard to the immigration from the west coast of Africa, the experiment had been carried out as far as it could, and the Liberians complained bitterly of the attempt to obtain free labourers from that interesting part of the country.

Mr. J. H. GLADSTONE could bear testimony with respect to British ships being employed in bringing labourers to Cuba, for he was in that island two years ago. In 1856 British ships were frequently seen entering the ports with those labourers on board, but the ships principally employed were American. He could also speak as to the length of service obtained from the negro

population and the Coolies. The slaves did not live on an average longer than ten years after being set upon full work, but with the Coolies and Chinese the duration of life was still less. Almost the entire of those introduced ten years ago were now dead. Again, as to the disparity of sexes in Cuba, he did not see a single Chinese woman there, while he saw perhaps some thousand Chinese men.

The DUKE OF NEWCASTLE said that he had alluded to the Indians: he was quite aware of the fact as regarded the Chinese.

MR. GLADSTONE made inquiries as to what had induced them to come to the West Indies, and some of them said that they were told they would go to a country where there were rivers of gold. A California was pictured to them. All this referred simply to Cuba.

MR. G. THOMPSON said, that from what he had heard it was likely that the Coolies in India were duped in a similar manner. Two years ago, when in Calcutta, he had some conversation with respect to the mode of obtaining men from the country above Calcutta, with a person who had some years before been engaged in shipping Coolies, and who had made some 17,000*l.* by the trade. He employed persons to bring them to town and keep them there, and had also a profit on the kit which the Coolie took with him. The impression left upon his mind by what he had heard was that the Coolie was totally incapable of understanding the nature of the contract which he was invited to make. He knew nothing of geography—even the Brahmin knew nothing of geography; he knew nothing of the value of the money of the country to which he was going; knew nothing of the distance, nor of the nature of the labour he would have to perform. It was represented to him that many of them, when brought down to Calcutta, got some idea of the matter; and if, in consequence, they manifested any disinclination to go then, substitutes were found to pass the emigration agent, and answer all the questions, and subsequently, by some manœuvre, the real men were shipped. This personation was carried on by the same individuals as long as it was considered safe, and the new substitutes were found. It was therefore necessary to have such supervision at the place of shipment as would prevent this practice. Then, when the Coolie reached our colonies, he had no one to communicate with him, and many of them became subject to the most frightful diseases of which we have no idea, arising from the deplorable mental state to which they were reduced.

MR. JOSIAH FORSTER, as a member of the *Anti-Slavery Society*, must observe that he was a little shaken at seeing the Memorial so much called in question by the Duke of Newcastle; but if the case was made out with regard to the 500 Africans admitted into the Mauritius, it would be acknowledged that the Committee was borne out. The Committee, the Duke of Newcastle, and the Government stood pledged in heart to the fair carrying out of the abolition of the slave-trade in the West Indies. It was their moral duty with reference to the liberated Africans—their clients, as he might call them—to see whether their interests were sufficiently protected by the admission of the Coolies, also whether the plea of want of labour was fairly and adequately made, and

whether the whole system, if fairly and candidly investigated, could in a moral point of view be justified.

It was then agreed that Lord Brougham should communicate with his Grace before the session was over, with respect to drawing out questions, and the Deputation withdrew.

The Deputation having retired to the waiting-room,

LORD BROUGHAM said that he should give to his Grace the names of some fourteen or fifteen gentlemen, now in this country, who were prepared to tender important evidence, and recommend his Grace to appoint some person to receive it, with a view to put his Grace in possession of the information which they might otherwise, from circumstances, be unable to give at a future time.

It was moved by Dr. Carlile, seconded by Mr. G. Thompson, and carried unanimously, that the Secretary to the Society should make a communication to the Duke of Newcastle to that effect.

The proceedings then terminated.

THE WEST INDIA BODY AND OURSELVES.

MR. STEPHEN CAVE, the Chairman of the West India Committee, appears to be subject to an ungovernable mania for writing to the *Times*. The fit seizes him whenever the anti-slavery party appear before the public, to make known the iniquities of that peculiar system of labour, which Mr. Cave and his clients are anxious to see introduced, as a substitute for the one which was abolished by the Act of Emancipation. Arguments have no weight with him. Facts he will not believe, even when they are patent to the majority of sane people. In the *Times* he finds a ready, a powerful, and a most unscrupulous, not to say a downright dishonest, ally. Against so redoubtable a champion of the West-India interest, which prostitutes to party purposes its mighty power as an organ of opinion, we feel like a pigmy in the hands of a Titan. But so long as there remains a public opinion to appeal to, as a last resource, we know that there is hope for truth in the long run, even though the *Times* shall proclaim "truth to be a liar." That Mr. Cave—aware that the *Times* will print any thing he writes, and exclude whatever replies are sent to his statements—should take full advantage of the dishonest privilege, we regret deeply, for the sake of truth and justice first, for his own sake secondly. It is the act of a moral poltroon, who is conscious of the inherent weakness of the cause he attempts to bolster up. But let Mr. Cave and his colleagues, clients, and supporters, be assured that they will gain nothing by so objectionable a course, for though one medium of publicity may be closed, others are open, and the anti-slavery party is resolved to neglect no opportunity, to spare no exertions, thoroughly to expose them, and the

monstrous system they are striving to establish upon a permanent footing.

The grand meeting held on the 13th ult., particulars of which are recorded in another column, had scarcely dispersed, before Mr. Cave, boiling over with excitement, rushes into print, by sending an effusion to the *Times*. Of course it appeared. Here it is, fresh from the columns of that journal of the 15th ult.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.

SIR,—I should not have troubled you with any remark upon the charges brought last night at the London Tavern against the West Indians had they been confined, as usual, to mere reiterations of frequently disproved statements. But an accusation was made for the first time, so remarkable that I must beg to direct attention to it. In order to explain away the inconvenient circumstance of the Coolie immigrants carrying back to their own country large earnings, the Secretary of the *Anti-Slavery Society* uttered the following words :

"He would not, before a promiscuous meeting, attempt to give any idea of the manner in which the Coolies obtained the money which they took away with them from the island. He could only say that much of it was obtained in vice, and that of the most odious character."

Now, Sir, if this means any thing it means that the colonists of Jamaica pay the Coolies for these practices, and this disgraceful slander was unchecked by the chairman, and elicited no disapprobation from any one present. This will, I imagine, sufficiently shew the real *animus* of these pretended "friends of the West Indians."

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

STEPHEN CAVE, Chairman.

West-India Committee, July 14.

Although we felt it would be perfectly useless to address the *Times* in reply, a sense of duty urged us to overcome our repugnance to write to that journal. We did so, but with the result we had anticipated. Our answer was refused insertion. We now append it, for the guidance and use of our friends :

SIR,—At the recent Anti-Slavery Meeting, I could only advert, in the most general terms, to a fact which I challenge Mr. Cave to disprove. It is, that in many instances, Coolies who have wives or concubines, are in the habit of hiring them out as common prostitutes to their fellow-labourers. On one estate in Grenada, the Coolie labourers complained to the interpreter that one woman and her husband had got all their savings. Mr. Cave is quite welcome to the benefit of any inference he has drawn from my general statement, but I submit that it is he, not I, who slanders the Jamaica colonists.

I am prepared to shew, upon evidence contained in the very last Blue Book on Immigration, that the Coolies do not earn more than 7*d.* a-day, out of which they must keep themselves, and that those who take away any con-

siderable sums, have made them by trading and shopkeeping, and not by working on estates.

I am also prepared to prove, that deceit and fraud are deliberately and systematically practised upon the Indian Coolie, both in India, to induce him to emigrate, and in the colonies to which he is taken.

I submit the following extracts in support of these assertions. They furnish a very striking commentary upon Mr. Cave's laudation of the present system of immigration. Mr. Carbery, a stipendiary magistrate in British Guiana, writes thus to the Government Secretary on the 9th of January 1858 :—

"And will any one seriously say that the mortality of the passage from and back to India, and the death and demoralization caused by the inequality of the sexes and drunkenness in this colony, where drinking is so cheap a vice, are counterbalanced by the acquisition, as shewn by the most favourable instance that could be quoted, of 1*d.* or 2*d.* a-day, and this from earnings which official returns have proved barely amount to 7*d.* daily. It may easily be imagined how the immigrant fares, and what privation he endures on 5*d.* a-day in so expensive a colony: Guiana is indeed no land of Canaan to him, flowing with milk and honey."

The second extract is to be found at page 172 of the same valuable document. It is from a letter addressed by Mr. Caird, the Colonial Immigration Agent at Calcutta, 25th of March 1858, to his superiors. He says :

"And what is more, I may add for their information, that if the Protector's office were to explain to the Coolies as minutely as they are expected to do, every particular connected with the West Indies, the colonists would not obtain any thing near the number of people they now receive."

I assert, that the returned Coolies are dissatisfied with their experience of the West Indies, because the promises held out to them are not fulfilled. For proof of this statement, I refer Mr. Cave to pages 133 to 137, and 171 and 172 of the Blue Book in question, and recommend him to read it attentively through before he again presumes to impugn my veracity. I hope you will, in fairness, insert my reply.

I am, Sir, your's truly,

L. A. CHAMEROVZOW.

27, New Broad Street, E. C.

July 15th, 1859.

For a few days Mr. Cave was silent. But his bile was again suddenly excited on his seeing in the public papers an account of the Deputation that waited on the Duke of Newcastle on the 23rd ult., for the purpose of presenting the memorial which had been adopted at the public meeting, and a copy of which had been sent beforehand to him, that he might be prepared to meet the statements

it contained. Mr. Cave had at once recourse to his usual remedy, a letter to the *Times*, which appeared on the 26th. We append it.

THE DEPUTATION FROM THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

SIR,—Periodical misrepresentations, like periodical rain, seems, in regard to the West Indians, a necessary condition of existence.

The *Anti-Slavery Society* has had, I see, a field-day in Downing Street, on which occasion emigration to the British West Indies was again studiously confounded with the slave-trade to Cuba, and the old fallacies about kidnapping, mortality, &c., so recently demolished by Sir E. B. Lytton and Mr. Labouchere in the House of Commons, were reproduced, for the benefit of the new Secretary of State. These are the standing "properties" of the Society, and, though incapable any longer of misleading a single clerk in the Colonial Office, tell with the general public. I shall merely trouble you with three points in the memorial, demurred to by the Duke of Newcastle, but reiterated by the deputation.

First, that emigration was still sanctioned from the coast of Africa. There has never been any emigration from the African coast to the British West Indies, except from British possessions and the Kroo coast, where the slave-trade never existed. This entirely ceased in 1853, and the only Africans which have since arrived have been taken from the few slave-ships captured on the high seas on their way to Cuba. There are, no doubt, provisions in various Acts for the reception of Africans should they arrive; but those who assume to pronounce on these subjects ought to know that such clauses do not authorise emigration, which can only be carried on by her Majesty's Commissioners here, under instructions from the Colonial Office.

Secondly, that one-third of the cost of the emigration which lately took place from China to British Guiana, under Lord Stanley's Act, was borne by the Colonial exchequer. As the accounts have passed through my hands, I can distinctly state, what is perfectly well known at the Colonial Office, that the whole cost was paid by the subscribers, as required by the provisions of the Act.

Lastly, that the proportion of sexes of Indian immigrants mentioned by the Duke applied only to the Mauritius.

The last report of the Emigration Commissioners (1858) shews (page 98) that the nine ships which sailed from India to the British West Indies in 1857-8 carried 1989 males and 1306 females. A reference to former reports shews that the proportion of females steadily increases.

These errors must either be wilful or culpably careless. In either case the people of England should give their fellow-subjects in the colonies the benefit of the doubt thus necessarily thrown on the other allegations of the *Anti-Slavery Society*.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

STEPHEN CAVE.

West-India Committee, July 25.

Mr. Cave's *forte* does not lie in reasoning. As he will not accept facts, he can have no solid foundation for argument. Hence

his logic is always miserably out at elbows. Between his premises and his conclusions there is no sequence.

In this last letter of his, Mr. Cave commences by asserting what is untrue. A broad distinction was made between Chinese immigration to Cuba and to the West Indies. But we affirm that although few Chinese, comparatively speaking, have been conveyed to the West Indies, there is every reason to believe that the same system of fraud and violence is in operation to obtain those who are conveyed thither, as is practised with regard to others who are taken to Cuba. Mr. Cave ought to know perfectly well that in advocating Chinese immigration into the West Indies, he is advocating a slave-trade in Chinese instead of negroes.

But we go so far as to allege that fraud, violence, and kidnapping, are features in the present system of immigration from India, although they are probably practised less openly there. When men and women are seduced to go on board vessels under false pretences, as numbers of Indians are, they are kidnapped to all intents and purposes, quite as much as the negro, who is bound hand and foot, and carried off bodily.

Then what does Mr. Cave mean about "the mortality?" Will he dare to deny that it is as great as the *Anti-Slavery Society* has alleged it to be? Has he or not seen the return presented to the House of Lords quite recently, Sessional paper, No. 30, which Lord Brougham, at the request of the Anti-Slavery Committee in New Broad-street, moved for last year? Imperfect as it is, studiously vague and incomplete as it appears to us to have been made, in so far as concerns Jamaica, it yet contains facts which fully sustain the Anti-Slavery Committee in their allegations; and this, notwithstanding they were, as Mr. Cave states, so recently demolished by Sir E. B. Lytton and Mr. Labouchere in the House of Commons. Both these gentlemen were misled by their subordinates. The Duke of Newcastle himself has been misled. Secretaries of State for the Colonies cannot be expected always to see with their own eyes, and to examine with their own judgment; and every allowance must be made for the ignorance they not unfrequently exhibit on questions even of great public importance. What tale does this valuable paper tell on this very subject of Coolie mortality. Chinese immigration to British Guiana gives a rate of mortality on the voyage of 10.82, 12.02, and 44.81 per cent., all on board of British ships, while the mortality in the colony during five years has been at the rate of 41½ per cent., taking the recorded average in the gross. The same kind of immigration to Jamaica shews above eight per cent. mortality on the voyage, but there are no returns of the death-rate in the colony. We

find, however, that the Coolies introduced from India have died off at a frightful rate. When the *Anti-Slavery Society* memorialized Sir E. B. Lytton, they stated that the mortality in the colony during the term of industrial residence amounted to fifty per cent. Sir E. B. Lytton gave a flat contradiction to that statement, and reiterated it subsequently in the House of Commons. Mr. Labouchere followed in the same track, and even Mr. C. Buxton was so shaken in his views on this point, that he expressed upon the same occasion a qualified opinion on the accuracy of the information furnished him by the anti-slavery party, and he has since publicly stated that he believed they were misinformed. But what are the facts? The rate of mortality during the voyage, averaging seventy-eight days, has been about four per cent., or at an annual rate of eighteen per cent. Within three years 35½ per cent. died, or at the rate of above fifty-eight per cent. in five years, the term of their industrial residence. Yet, with these facts accessible, Mr. Cave has the presumption to call in question the veracity of the *Anti-Slavery Society*, by casting doubt on that of their Secretary; while the West-India Committee do not hesitate to print and circulate statements utterly at variance with these official returns.

Coolie immigration to British Guiana has proved equally destructive of human life. Governor Wodehouse, whose authority Mr. Cave will not, we suppose, be inclined to dispute, writes thus to Sir E. B. Lytton on the 17th of March last—

"The loss of life has been greater during the last two seasons than on any former occasion; and seeing that better ships never have been employed, nor greater care taken of the passengers by the officers and medical men in charge, one is forced to the conclusion that all the comforts are of comparatively little value, and that the success of the voyage depends mainly on the condition of the people at the time of embarkation."

In the face of such evidence as this, what becomes of Mr. Cave's charge against the *Anti-Slavery Society*, of "gross exaggeration" and such like? The very admissions made by Governor Wodehouse, on the subject of the awful mortality on shipboard, are an indirect corroboration of the allegations the Society has brought against the system, and point to something fearfully wrong in it in India.

The tabulated return of deaths during residence is not clearly drawn up, and on this point further information must be elicited; but it shows that out of 26,779 Indians, introduced from 1838 to the 30th June 1858, inclusively, 8681, have died or cannot be accounted for. We believe, however, that the mortality in British Guiana, amongst this class of immigrants, has been

very much less than in Jamaica, to which island our remarks were confined when we addressed Sir E. B. Lytton.

Mr. Cave calls us to account, because we affirm that immigration from Africa is still sanctioned. He admits, however, that there are provisions made in certain Acts for the reception of Africans, should they arrive, but he alleges that those clauses do not authorize African immigration. In reply to Mr. Cave, we refer him to the following extracts from the original clauses in the Jamaica Immigration Bill, which define the kind and class of immigrants to be introduced, and the powers of the governor.

FIRST.

"* * * the expression "African immigrant" shall mean any immigrant from any part of the African continent, or from the island of Madagascar, or from any other island adjacent to the coast of the African continent, and inhabited by the negro race.

FOURTH.

"The governor may from time to time, by proclamation or by notice, to be published in the Gazette, by authority, in this island, as also, if he shall think fit, in the London Gazette, and in any public newspaper circulating out of this island, name the ports or places, from which immigration into this colony, within the meaning and subject to the provisions of this Act shall be permitted, and the conditions under which such immigration may be carried on?

Does Mr. Cave mean to say, he construes these clauses as not authorizing immigration from Africa? The Anti-Slavery Committee urged the strongest objection to them, as fraught with danger, but Sir E. B. Lytton met them with the very unsatisfactory assurance that they would be "a dead letter, because free immigration from Africa was impossible." But what kind of colonial legislation is that which enacts "dead letter" clauses?

It was not asserted by the Secretary of the *Anti-Slavery Society* that one-third of the cost of past Chinese immigration to British Guiana, under Lord Stanley's Act, had been borne by the colony. The Secretary referred distinctly to recent proceedings in the Court of Policy, and the subjoined extract from a British-Guiana paper will fully bear out the Secretary's assertion, that the planters are endeavouring to throw a large proportion of the cost of this very immigration upon the colony. The discussion referred to took place in June we believe.

"Immigration still appears to be the order of the day here. The *Creole* commenting thereon says:

"The gentlemen who some time ago embarked in the Chinese immigration scheme, and who made such a noise about their helping themselves, without calling upon the colony for 'a penny of the cost of Chinese immigration,' have

shown what those declarations were worth. They were mere pretentious boasts, soon to be changed for the tune of immigration exaction. On the 29th ult. Mr. Bascom, financial representative for Georgetown, gave notice of certain resolutions on this subject, the purport of which was, *that a loan of £500,000 should be raised for the introduction of Chinese immigrants, and that the interest and sinking fund of the loan were to be provided for by a tax on produce; but this proposition was doubly distasteful. In the first place, it would make the planter pay for his own immigrants, a thing which, thought to be reasonable, the planter cannot be persuaded to consent to do with any thing like a good grace; and, in the second place, it contemplated the revival of a tax which, for reasons not very clear, is especially hateful to him. Mr. Bascom was therefore induced to withdraw his resolutions in favour of others proposed by Mr. Jones, fixing the amount to be paid by the planter for his Chinese labourer at seventy dollars, leaving the balance of the cost of introduction, whatever that might be, together with the expenses incurred in China, to be defrayed by the colony; in other words, as we understand, placing Chinese pretty nearly upon the same footing with respect to the payment of its expenses, as Coolie immigration. It must be borne in mind that it is the planter who in every case lays down the terms between the colony and himself; and a very, very fair bargain he usually makes.'*

Mr. Cave has simply confounded the past with the present, but that is no fault of ours.

Mr. Cave asserts that the anti-slavery party wilfully misleads the public on the subject of the inequality of the sexes, and boldly quotes the returns of the Emigration Commissioners for 1857-58, to prove that the proportion of females steadily increases. We subjoin an abstract of the official return of Governor Wodehouse for the year 1857, and the first six months of 1858, contained in the paper we have already alluded to.

BRITISH GUIANA.

	Men.	Women.
1857 Wellesley	244	78
„ Blue Jacket	311	121
„ Bucephalus	236	69
„ Sir R. Sepping	162	47
„ Roman Emperor	157	47
„ Stamboul	223	91
„ Merchantman	180	69
„ Burmah	209	44
1858 Bucephalus	206	105
„ White Eagle	223	101
„ Camboida	145	110
„ Clarendon	154	111

The Chinese brought no women at all. The grand total of immigrants, including children, introduced into British Guiana since the system commenced, is 20,549 males, and 5519 females; into Trinidad 10,678 males, 2994 females, besides 1012 Chinese, who brought no women; into Grenada, 434 males, 189 females; there are no returns for Jamaica.

We submit the above facts as conclusive

evidence of the substantial accuracy of our statements. We must leave that impartial tribunal, the public, to judge on which side are the errors, either "wilful or culpably careless," of which Mr. Cave complains; but as he invites it to doubt the allegations of the *Anti-Slavery Society* upon a false assumption of his own, we will give him the assurance that his statements will in future have the full benefit of our doubts, and it shall not be our fault if that public to which he appeals is not as well informed as ourselves. We think it was the late Daniel O'Connell who said, "Give me three days' start with a good lie, and I will defy any body to overtake it." Mr. Cave has the "three days" advantage of us, and we admit that the odds against us are very long, but we do not despair of setting those right who have the power to counteract the manoeuvres of the body of which Mr. Cave is the oracle, and which, if successful, would materially interfere with the happy results of the great act of Emancipation, of which this present day is the 25th Anniversary.

REVIVAL OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

ON Wednesday evening, the 13th ult. a public meeting convened by the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, was held at the London Tavern, to hear statements respecting the traffic in Chinese and Coolies, carried in British ships to British and Foreign colonies, and to adopt a Memorial to Government, praying for a Committee of Inquiry into the subject. The attendance was very numerous. Lord Brougham occupied the chair; and the platform was crowded by a large number of the leading friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, from various parts of the country.

The noble CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said:

It gives me very great satisfaction to meet you here this day, in order to take into consideration a subject of very great importance — deeply interesting to all the friends of humanity, and, I would add, to all the friends of a sound, well-considered, and just policy of Government. The main object of our meeting is, we consider, the state of the immigration into our colonies of the Coolies from our East-Indian possessions, and of the Chinese from our settlements in that part of the world. There are many differences of opinion upon this particular subject, and, whether or not there exists in our West-India Colonies, and generally in our colonial settlements, the want of labour, which, it is contended on the part of those who favour the introduction of those classes, exists, or has existed, for the last five and twenty years, since we liberated our negroes or slaves. Whether that exists at all, or, at any rate, whether it exists to the degree to which it is alleged to exist—is a question which, I think, seriously deserves inquiry, and which it would be rash to give a confident opinion upon one way or another without further investigation. (Hear.)

Now, I have often been charged by the West-India body with hostility to them. I believe, on the contrary, that I have been their best friend. First, in promoting the abolition of the infernal slave-trade (cheers) next, in continuing to promote that object after the liberation of our slaves, when it became still more necessary than ever, for the West-India body, that the traffic in African slaves should be put down entirely. (Renewed cheers.) For who and what are they that mainly oppose and thwart the schemes, the great schemes, the lawful schemes, of the West-India planters? It is their real enemies, or it is the sale of slave-grown sugar from foreign settlements. That is what they mainly suffer by, and will continue to do so till the slave-trade is really and effectually put down all over the world. (Hear.) Our West-India planters suffer just as much in their lawful interest as the cause of justice and humanity suffers in its interests. But the Coolies—the immigration of the Coolies—is said to afford a great relief to that body. If it be so, and if they shall shew that in consequence of the liberation of their negroes, and the slave population of our colonies being converted into a free population, somewhat given to agricultural labour—somewhat given to the raising of sugar—not so much given to that agriculture as is necessary perhaps (that is their statement) for the interest of the planter—but if it be so, and if they really do want a sufficient supply of hands, far be it from me to say that they ought not to have the benefit of immigration, provided it can be secured to them free from the risk of reviving under another form and in another name the old slave-trade. (Hear and cheers.) When I broached this subject the other night in presenting some petitions to the Lords on the matter, I was told by my noble friend at the head of the Colonial department, there was no doubt that the planters felt a want of hands when they are willing to let themselves be taxed in order to enable them to obtain the supply of foreign hands, Coolies and others, which they require. And no doubt taxation is a very severe test to apply to men's motives, and to men's feelings (and it is true universally). If these planters choose to be taxed, and submit to be taxed, it is a real proof that they see a very great want of hands, and but for that want of hands they would not submit to be taxed. My answer is, that they do submit to be taxed, but that the tax is not confined to themselves. The poor negro is taxed as well as the planter. The liberated African, the liberated Creole, the slave population, are subject to the same tax, but less in proportion, no doubt, because their means are far more slender; but in proportion to their means, the same weight of taxation, and with this difference; the planter pays the tax in order to obtain a supply of hands, the negro pays the tax in order to have his labour cheapened by that supply of hands, so that he burns the candle at both ends. (Loud cheers.) He pays the tax and he lowers the wages. I do not mean to say that this is a clear proposition any more than the other, which asserts the want of hands and the necessity of immigration; but I say that at least this demands investigation; and what I would strongly recommend to this meeting would be to confine itself to a demand for inquiry; not a one-sided inquiry—calling witnesses all on one side who are of one

opinion, but I would call witnesses on both sides—those of the planters as well as those of the negroes. And if there is a third party which is neither leaning towards the one party nor the other, I would call these witnesses, and let the whole be examined. Now I have given you very shortly my notions of the case. I don't wish to detain you, especially in the present state of the weather, which, for even those who listen, is sufficiently oppressive, and for those who speak, still more so. I therefore have stated as shortly as I conveniently could, what the object of this meeting is, and I have only now to recommend that you will give a fair and patient hearing to all who address you, whatever may be their opinion. I may add that the Bishop of Oxford is exceedingly sorry he could not attend this meeting, as he would have been compelled to leave at a very early hour. He has desired me to express his great regret at not being able to attend. And I cannot name the name of Wilberforce—without having recalled to my recollection him towards whom the feelings of veneration and of affection strive in my bosom for the mastery. My reason for not reading this letter from the right reverend prelate is, that it is full of kind expressions to myself personally. (The noble lord resumed his seat amid great cheering.)

The letter was as follows:

"July 12, 1859.

"MY DEAR LORD BROUGHAM,—I am grieved that I cannot be with you to-morrow night, to shew my deep interest in that undying cause which occupied your early energies, and which still owes as much to your marvellously unabated powers. I am obliged to leave town in order to preach on the Thursday morning, at a long distance from London.

"I am, most sincerely yours,
"S. OXON."

Mr. CHAS. BUXTON, M.P., moved the first resolution:

"That this Meeting, having heard the statements which have been made on the subject of the present system of obtaining Indians and Chinese as labourers, and their employment in British colonies, considers it desirable that a Memorial should be presented to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, praying him to promote the appointment of a Committee of the House of Lords to inquire into the whole subject."

He said: I have very great pleasure in moving this resolution, because I quite agree with the noble chairman that inquiry is the very thing we want on this subject. We have at present no means of comparing the statements one way or the other. The facts appear, as it were, under a cloud: the greatest differences of opinion exist even amongst those who have sedulously studied the whole subject; and it will therefore be of the greatest possible advantage to have an impartial Committee of the House of Lords inquiring into it, for I believe its report would allay much bitter feeling on this subject in the colonies themselves, and in fact, be attended with the greatest advantage to the West Indies themselves. I confess I somewhat regret that the *Anti-Slavery Society* did not more distinctly state that they were in favour of immigration to the West Indies. Having very thoroughly gone into this subject, I have

come more and more clearly to the conviction, that it would be better not to oppose altogether immigration to these colonies, for it seems to me that while in many of these islands you have large quantities of fertile and uncultivated land, it would not be a bad thing to pour into them a body of such labourers to assist in its cultivation. It seems to me hardly credible, that from so many of these islands planters should have so loudly demanded an increase in the number of hands, when there was really some occasion for such an increase. There is no doubt that the statements on this subject have been grossly exaggerated; and it is not proved that the planters have incurred ruin and distress from the want of labourers, save in one or two instances, and that more from the force of peculiar circumstances. On the one hand, I believed it would be to the benefit of the planters, by stimulating the negro to still further industry, if a large number of immigrants could be poured into these islands, as in the case of California or Australia. I therefore do think that it would not be undesirable if emigrants could be poured into these islands without those evils which have always heretofore attended it. But even on this point there is much room for inquiry. I confess I used to feel the deepest indignation and pain when reading the reports of the mortality which took place amongst the immigrants to the West-India Islands. Yet I must state, that after looking carefully into the matter, it does seem that the mortality was not permanent; and that though two or three years ago there were some fearful instances of death, yet in the last one or two years the mortality on board ship has fallen to a trivial amount. I think it is also a point of doubt, and one deserving of investigation, whether there is any serious amount of mortality among the immigrants after landing in the West-India Islands. It is perfectly true that a great many still perish; but not many, taking into consideration the circumstances which indicate that this immigration is a great evil. It seems to me that the more this Society sets forward and sedulously devotes its energies to seeing that the regulations are really carried into effect for the protection of these immigrants, it will be doing the highest service. These regulations appear wise and humane; but of course the tendency is for all such regulations to fall in abeyance. There can be no doubt that after landing they are at the mercy of the planters; and although I have not yet discovered that they have been treated with inhumanity, there is the risk that individuals of a brutal character may illuse them unless they knew there was a body such as this watching them closely, and in readiness to drag their cruel deeds to light. I have no doubt that the action of this Society is most beneficial in this way, and here is one point in which I particularly concur in the views of this Society. It seems to me as clear as day that it is contrary to sound principles of political economy to say that the expenses of these negro immigrants, used as imported labour, should be defrayed by the negroes. No scheme of this character can be sound unless the planters bear the whole cost. It has often been urged that it is not true that the taxation falls on the negro population; but I think the excellent Secretary

has certainly shewn that the principal burden does fall on them, and that it is in fact a tax of 12½ per cent. on the income of the masses, to enable a planter to introduce foreigners to compete with themselves. The *Saturday Review*, of which I would desire to speak with fear and love, in an article attacking us, says that it is an essential part of these immigration schemes that the community should be taxed to promote them. If it is thus an essential part, does not that prove that the planters would not think it worth their while to promote them if they had to pay for them? Why, then, is it of such importance to throw it on the community? It seems clear to me that if you tax the community to supply the planters with labour, you are just doing what the French did with their fishermen, making them pay a bounty to promote their own trade. It is self-evident that either these immigration schemes pay the whole of their expenses, or they do not. If the negroes do not repay the expenses of bringing them over, the system had better be given up. But if, as the West-India body say, they not only replace the capital, but pay a good profit why then the whole of that goes into the pockets of the planters. Now, it strikes me such a course is bad political economy; it is creating a heavy burden on the resources of the islands, it damages their trade, and altogether presses most unfairly upon the negro population by increasing their taxation, when nothing would more conduce to their prosperity than its diminution to the lowest possible minimum. If the planter really wants the labourers, let him pay for them himself, whereas now, by a roundabout process, he escapes payment nearly altogether. I do sincerely trust the Committee, if granted, will investigate these points; and I think it very doubtful whether the planters will consider it worth their while to prosecute this immigration scheme at all. These, however, are the main points into which the Committee must inquire; and I believe great benefit will result to all parties from having the matter thoroughly gone into. I beg to move the resolution I have already read.

Mr. CHISHOLM ANSTEE, in seconding the resolution, said he did not wish to underrate the important points which were proposed for the investigation of the Committee; but this he did think, that there were other items of equal importance which must also come up—points highly important to this country and to the interests of humanity. The manner in which the traffic was carried on once settled, the morality of the means of its sustenance must be ascertained, and how far the practice of British officials abroad had corresponded with their professions at home in carrying out those repressive measures which had from time to time been passed; and then there came a question as to whether it was advisable that any alteration should be made in the existing law, considering the past and the present circumstances of the case. He did not know much of the coolie trade in India; but he knew a good deal of it in China. He would venture to affirm, without fear of contradiction, that if the case as affecting this point were deliberately gone into, it would be found that by honest means it was almost impossible to induce any large emigration of Chinese la-

bourers to any part of the West Indies. He believed there was no sufficient inducement to urge them to go. But they did go. How then, he asked? By force, for they were kidnapped; and by fraud, for they were falsely persuaded that they were going on a voyage to an entirely different description of labour in a favoured land, for the benefit of themselves, and not of a foreign taskmaster. Mr. Anstey went on to develop this point of the case at considerable length, citing instances to prove his assertion mainly derived from official documents, and concluded by expressing his satisfaction in seconding the resolution, which he considered precisely such as met the wants of the case.

LORD BROUGHAM, in introducing the next speaker, said that among all his friends and fellow-labourers of a quarter of a century in the abolition cause, George Thompson stood pre-eminent.

MR. GEORGE THOMPSON, in supporting the resolution, said he was sorry that the question before the Meeting was so complicated in its various relations, that it was difficult to fix the minds of those whose attention had not been previously directed to the question upon the precise point to which the attention of the Meeting was directed by the *Anti-Slavery Society*. The work they were called to do that night was supplemental to that which was done a quarter of a century ago. They had laboured for the freedom of the negro in the full and absolute sense of the word, and not only for his personal freedom, but to enable him to build upon that the merits and virtues of an enlightened citizen—to place him, at least, in the circumstances of eligibility for advancement and improvement, in which any free man was placed who was born in an humble position of life. Englishmen had promised this to the negro, and were bound to fulfil that contract—to see that the negro was not by artifice, by professions of the doctrines and principles of political economy, or by selfishness and mere class interest, deprived of his rights, and robbed of the fruits of his honest industry. He would not go into the political economy of the question, that might be settled elsewhere. If Jamaica or any of the colonies wanted labourers, that could be inquired into. Was it from China and India alone or chiefly that they could be supplied? Were the emigrants engaged with their own free consent, and would they be insured a free return to their own country if they desired it? Did they know whither they were going, what would be the nature of their labour, and what the value of the money they would receive? These matters would have to be inquired into. There were two parties in court. The negroes whom England had emancipated, and whom it dare not desert; the planting population, whom they did not regard with an unfriendly eye. They did not love the planter the less because they loved the negro more, but they loved the negro because there was none else to pity him. They loved his cause because it was the cause of justice, and unless that cause had been won by the matchless eloquence and by the earnest labours of such men as the noble Lord who filled the chair, the negro would have remained in Slavery still. He was one party in court, the planter was another. They did not wish the planter ill, but, contrari-

wise, good. The mercantile interest was a noble interest when nobly conducted, but if the planters could not get the labour they sought but by arts opposed to honesty and justice, let their interests kick the beam. He held it to be a self-evident proposition that the men who were brought to the West Indies—he cared not by what means—he cared not where they were sought, where found, to what port they were taken, by what ships or by what merchants they were sent to their future scenes of labour; but he held it to be a proposition which every man on that platform, who came either from India or China, would support, that neither the wretched Chinese on the one hand, nor the hill Coolies of Bengal or Madras on the other, had the capacity to enter into the contract by which they were to be so unjustly bound. They could not talk the language of those who hired them; they had no knowledge of geography any more than the infant of yesterday. They had slumbered under the groves of their native fields, and turned up with a share the soil of their native land, but beyond the duty of the day, in the spot where their breath was given them, their comprehension went no further. Intelligence in the Indian community there was as bright and pure as our own; but those classes came from the very lowest caste. They were certainly not outcasts; but among the castes of India they were the servile caste, and therefore utterly ignorant, all knowledge being forbidden them by the ecclesiastical institutions of their country. He maintained there were none amongst them, whether the compact were just or unjust, even if it were as just as the Society thought they had evidence to prove to the contrary, not one of them would be competent to enter into that compact. With regard to Calcutta, how were they obtained in that part of India? He was not cognisant of any such flagrant abuses as those which Mr. Anstey had referred to as constituting the character of the immigration from China; but he knew that miscreants went about India, and, by the most heartless misrepresentations, sought to induce the Coolies in that country to go down to Calcutta. If, on their road to Calcutta, or if while in Calcutta, they obtained an inkling of truth in reference to what was really meant by the magnificent statements which they had previously heard—if they evinced an unwillingness to enter into the contract—what was done to them? Were they dismissed to their homes? Nothing of the kind. If ten men out of the fifty were suspected by the head man among the natives who crimped them, when they were called up to be inspected by the European whose duty it was to pass them, then ten other men, of a class always lying in wait, were hired to go up and personate the unwilling ten, and after they had been entered and passed, they then retired to their former position, and the ten unwilling men were obliged, *volens volens*, to submit to their fate. The first thing to be done was inquiry. If there were any who differed from our views they would shew their confidence in that course, rather than their distrust, by saying, with the Society, "Let there be an inquiry"—an inquiry into the true facts,—the facts of the demand and the supply of labour in the West Indies; the dry facts of the question whether the negroes were, in their

capacity as tax-bearers in the West Indies, contributing, in part at least, to bring into the country those who would beat down the market and deprive them of the full value of their labour. They would come to that great question, "Are we to see revived and carried on that disgraceful and execrable commerce in the human species which disgraced England not half a century ago, and the memory of which has not yet passed away from the minds of those who are in this assembly?" Should this commerce in God's image be revived and carried on, under the specious and dexterous pretence grounded upon a claim to additional labour in the West Indies? Should the wants of a few planters for the growing of a few hogsheads of sugar, and the recognition of that want by the generous community of this country lead to the revival of the horrors which characterized our colonies some fifty years ago. He said, then, "Support the *Anti-Slavery Society* in its multitudinous efforts." It was an ungrateful task for a Committee to sit in London for the purpose of going into statistical details, the result of which might be to bring people into conflict with a most respectable, worthy, and influential class in this country. They wanted no conflict or controversy of the kind, but they dare not shrink, if they saw the rights of the negroes on the one hand, or of the Indians or the Chinese on the other, imperilled. He said, then, "Support the Society in the prosecution of their claims to that inquiry;" and when it took place, he hoped the scope of the committee would be such as to bring under review all the topics brought forward that night, so that when evidence had been taken on the subject, they might meet in that hall, either to co-operate with the West-India party for the maintenance of their property there, or to say decidedly, "We must do the deed which our fathers did before us." That which my Lord Brougham did in 1811 they must do in 1860. They must set their foot on the traffic as a sin to be abolished, not an evil to be regulated—as a crime against God, under whatever name. For that purpose they must give to the Society their best encouragement, and he trusted, then, that they should soon see the enormities to which Mr. Anstey had referred dragged fearlessly to light, and then they should be enabled to add to the list of the humanities of this country yet one more;—then should England stretch out her hand on the left to China, and on the right to India, and say, both to the men who dwell in the Celestial Empire and to those living in that vast region which owned the sovereignty of Queen Victoria, "We recognise in you friends, brothers; we regard you as those who are entitled by that bond

"Wherever Britain's power is felt,
To feel her mercy too."

Mr. L. A. CHAMEROVSKY, the Secretary of the *Anti-Slavery Society* then read the Memorial.*

The SECRETARY, after reading the proposed Memorial, said he would take the opportunity of making a few comments upon it before the next resolution was moved. He did so because he considered it absolutely necessary, seeing the large

amount of misrepresentation which had been promulgated regarding the Society by the leading journal of the day, that the position of the *Anti-Slavery Society* on that great question, should be distinctly defined. It had been asserted that the Society was anxious to protect the Creole labourer against the competition of emigrants. That was simply untrue, and those who made that statement, made it in wilful perversion: he would not call it ignorance, because the Society had been too long before the public for its views to be otherwise than wilfully mis-represented; there had been a wilful perversion of the fact. This Society had never stood forth to oppose emigration, *per se*; it had always maintained that emigration was in itself a good thing; but it had opposed, and would continue to oppose, that vile system of which they had heard so much. He did not wish to put himself in antagonism with any journal; he was a person of far too small consequence to make a refusal to insert a communication of his an individual grievance; but when the *Times*, the first newspaper of the land, demanded information upon a great public question, and when that information was furnished, and it persistently ignored the facts that it professed to require, he submitted that such a course was not honest, and the only appeal was from so one-sided a judge to public opinion. He trusted that the meeting would promote the inquiry which they were seeking to obtain, if it were only to shew that the statements which the Society advanced were founded on truth. It had been stated—and he believed that this was a point upon which there was a desire to mislead the public—that the Native population, the Creole population of Jamaica, did not contribute any thing towards the emigration expenses. It had also been stated that the planters had taxed themselves to pay the cost of immigration. Both these statements were untrue. He had forwarded to the *Times* newspaper a financial statement, which in its wisdom, it had not thought proper to insert, shewing that the public debt of Jamaica was 913,618*l.*; of this 400,000*l.* had been guaranteed by the Government of this country, for the purposes of immigration. This debt was met by taxation, and the native population being as 24 to 1 of the white had the largest proportion of the expense. It was a perfect fallacy to say that they did not.

The Rev. JAMES CLARK, of Jamaica, proceeded to move the second resolution, but he was interrupted by Mr. McDonnell, a West-India planter, who commenced addressing the Meeting from the lower end of the room, stating that he had some knowledge of the subject, and wished to make some observations upon it.

The CHAIRMAN, amidst considerable confusion, informed Mr. McDonnell that if he had any amendment to propose to the first resolution, it was too late, for that resolution was carried, but the second resolution would give him an opportunity of stating what he had to say.

The Rev. JAMES CLARK then read the second resolution, which was as follows:—

"That the Memorial to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, which has been read, be adopted by this Meeting, and signed on its behalf by the Right Honourable Lord Brougham, and that his Lordship be respectfully solicited to head a deputa-

*The Memorial will be found at p. 175.--Ed. A.S.R.

tion to present it at as early a day as may be convenient."

The Rev. Gentleman said that he and others in Jamaica had, for a length of time, opposed the various schemes which had been proposed, and it was not because they were the enemies of immigration; on the contrary, they believed that a large immigration into the Island of Jamaica would be decidedly to its benefit, but they were opposed—strongly opposed—to the systems which had been already, and were now proposed to be carried into effect, like Ezekiel's roll in mourning, and lamentations, and woe. It was now twenty years since 4000 of our countrymen were introduced as emigrants into Jamaica, and in the course of a very short time, there were scarcely any of them remaining. The cost of these emigrants was 100,000*l.*, and he could positively assert that they had been scarcely of the least benefit to the island, while they themselves suffered anguish, and poverty, and death. A number of Germans were also brought into the island, but with a like result, and it was acknowledged by all parties that Europeans were not fitted. It was said, "If we cannot get Africans, let us have Coolies." He rejoiced to see that, time after time, we had strongly and successfully opposed the introduction of African emigrants into Jamaica, and that the British Government had nobly refused to allow the purchase of slaves in Africa, for the purpose of being brought to Jamaica under the pretence of liberating them there, and they were therefore deeply indebted to the British Government for preventing a new system of the slave-trade in connection with Africa. Finding, then, that they could not succeed in carrying out the system of African emigration, their House of Assembly had passed laws to carry out the system in connection with British India. Last year a Bill was passed by that Legislature, which, if it had been fully carried into effect, we should have had a second Slavery system, but the British Government refused to sanction it. Again an effort was made to pass an Act, in accordance, he believed, with the instructions sent out by the late Government, stating what it would agree to, and that law now lies on the table before us, and it is proposed under that law to introduce emigrants from the East Indies, and from China into Jamaica. Well, if they could be introduced with perfect freedom and perfect fairness, he should say, "Let them come;" but they had already heard of the atrocious means adopted for the purpose of obtaining Coolies and Chinese, and he believed there was a mass of evidence that might be brought forward of mortality of a fearful character. Now if they looked back to the past experience of Jamaica, they would find that in the years 1845, 6 and 7, 4551 Coolies were introduced into Jamaica, and although during that time children were born, the number of Coolies decreased to 1897. He would ask, would the British Government sanction such a murderous system? That Meeting, he trusted, would press upon the Government the importance of a thorough inquiry into the matter. Let the inquiry be made in China and in India; let it be ascertained how the labourers are there obtained; let inquiry be made into the mortality of these

classes; and then let an inquiry be made as to whether emigration labour is actually required in the Island of Jamaica. He did not say that it would not do good, but this he said, *at present* the supply of labour into Jamaica exceeded the demand. There were but 200 estates in cultivation, employing between 20,000 and 30,000 people, out of a population of nearly 400,000; and if one thousand labourers might be obtained, full 100,000 might, he was sure be had, provided fair wages were paid, and provided the labourers were fairly treated. He did not mean to accuse all the planters of Jamaica of wishing to oppress their labourers. Many of these planters were fair-minded men, and as a proof of this, those estates that were well conducted, and where wages were rightly paid, did not suffer at all for want of labour: they had more labour than they required. Unless cultivation was greatly extended in the island, they did not require any addition to their labouring population. It was said that the people were lazy and would not work. This was false. Not one estate, he ventured to assert, had ever been abandoned in Jamaica for want of labour. There was no lack of labour, if proper measures were taken to obtain it. The people were very willing to work from the Monday to the Friday, but no suitable accommodation whatever was provided for them. They were just turned into out-houses—men, women, and children together—so that many Missionaries had felt it to be their duty to advise parents not to allow their children to go to work on these estates, lest they should be corrupted with the vices that were there. He did not wish, however, to prevent the planters from carrying out their wish, (if it were absolutely necessary), provided they would do so fairly.

The Rev. W. G. BARRET, of Croydon, seconded the resolution in a speech of some length. He did it most willingly, having spent the best years of his life in the Island of Jamaica, and in the colony of British Guiana. Whatever might be his opinion concerning the methods in which immigration had been conducted, and the legislation by which it still carried on, he looked with approval upon the present demand for an inquiry. The necessity for immigration arose out of two things, as we were told, the unwillingness of the population to work, and their extortionate demands for wages. As to their unwillingness to work, that had been satisfactorily disposed of, and he would not enter into it, but to their extortionate demands for wages he would refer. Previous to the abolition of Slavery, every negro or negress who had a mind to purchase their freedom, could go to a stipendiary magistrate, and demand that a court should be held in a month's time, at which he or she should be valued, and there pay down the money, deducting one-third for sickness, &c. Into these courts he had been, although it might appear in a dubious character. He had bought many negroes and negresses to rescue them, and presented them with their freedom. And they had repaid him by weekly or monthly instalments, and he had never lost a farthing by it. He had then told the planters that the very best thing they could do was to encourage these people to purchase their freedom, because, thereby, a large amount of capital that had been locked up

would come into circulation in the island, and they would gradually surround the estates with a free people, so that the transition from Slavery to freedom would be almost unobserved. The planters, however, put too high a price upon their slaves. He would picture one of the scenes he had mentioned. The stipendiary magistrate being seated, the manager of the estate would walk into the Court, the trembling negro being upon the other side of the Court. The manager was sworn. He would be asked, "Is this slave upon Parnassus or Arcadia?" (or some such estate), and on replying in the affirmative, he would be next asked to name his value. To this he would give an extravagant answer, describing the slave as the best, or one of the best he had ever had (while, perhaps, the slave had only recently been put in the stocks for being an impudent saucy rascal), and concluding by stating him to be worth as much as 3s. a day, or if a woman, perhaps 2s. 6d. The slaves would lift their hands in astonishment, and say, "We never knew what we were worth before. Good thing when freedom come; we shall know what to ask; we shall get rich in no time." Well, freedom came. It was not upon the testimony of suspected Missionaries, of men who were pledged to any particular faction, that we received an account of the way in which the 800,000 emancipated "black rascals," with their wives, and sons, and daughters, received that too tardy boon of justice, but it rested upon the testimony of the officials in every one of the West-India Islands, and of the stipendiary magistrates, that throughout the whole of the West Indies there was not one single act of violence or rudeness on the part of these liberated slaves, and that the only breach of the peace was where a poor old cook, having asked her master to be allowed to go to church, was by him kicked down stairs, as he forgot she was no longer his slave, for which luxury he was subsequently fined. The negroes kept up religious services for a fortnight, and met together in the houses of religious worship, saying, "Let us sing unto the Lord a new song, for he hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." They then went back to the estates in hundreds and thousands, and asked for work. "Massa, we kick up our heels long enough," they said. "Very well," the planters would reply, "We will give the men 1s. a day." "Ah, Massa," the negroes would say, "you never know a white man tell a lie, white man cannot tell a lie after he kiss the book. T'other day you swore me was worth 3s. a day, and now you offer me 1s. Massa take too much punch, and his head get away from him." He appealed to any West Indian present, whether it was not a fact, that the question of wages between master and man was the only disputed point, and that it was the excessive and unreasonable value set upon the day's labour of the negro by the planters that occasioned the dispute. Then came the question of immigration, and they were told that the negroes did not pay for it. In 1842 the Houses of Assembly in Jamaica met together, and resolved that a fund of 30,000*l.* should be raised for immigration purposes from the articles used or consumed by the negro population. Pork, rice-flour, and other articles were considerably taxed to pro-

vide immigration funds—articles consumed principally by the negroes, and yet it was said that they had never paid directly or indirectly. There was not an article of food they ate, which had not been taxed excessively, for the introduction of people of whose cruel treatment and utter neglect he did not say a word, but he would say that the planters killed the goose that laid the golden egg.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Mr. McDonnell to come forward and make his statements.

Mr. McDONNELL made his way to the platform with considerable difficulty, and when the confusion consequent upon the interruption had subsided, energetically addressed the Meeting. After expressing his happiness in being able to do so, he said he had fortunately a little personal acquaintance with the subject of immigration, and a good deal of knowledge concerning the West-India colonies. He had heard a great many remarks that evening to the effect that immigration was very desirable in the West Indies, provided it could be carried on in a proper manner. Now, he had to inform them, that it had been carried on only by Government officers; that the planters had had nothing whatever to do with it. The Colonial Government adopted every measure which they considered beneficial both for the immigrants and for the labouring population of the country, and no injustice had been done either to the one or the other—he spoke of British Guiana. Had he known that that Meeting was to be held, he would have prepared data, but he should adhere to the perfect truth, and he should make some statements which he dared to say would shew them not a little upon the subject. They heard a very highly-coloured statement about the hill Coolies. They would be astonished when he told them that those hill Coolies were not sent to the British possessions in the West Indies, but to the Island of Cuba, and what British planters in the West Indies had to do with the Island of Cuba, or with the atrocious crimes that had been committed in carrying out the traffic of that island, he could not understand. He had seen a great number of hill Coolies return from British Guiana after a residence of only five years, and they had from 5*l.* to 6*l.* with them, besides armlets of gold and jewels. Now could they conceive for one moment that they could accumulate as much money with such wages as had been represented? (A voice, "How about Jamaica?") He begged to state, that the hill Coolies from Jamaica also had returned with money.

The Meeting here manifested signs of impatience, and called upon the speaker to sit down; but

The CHAIRMAN observed, that if Mr. McDonnell stated what he knew, and what he thought important and material, it was their duty to listen and to receive thankfully the information which he was prepared to give them, though his statements might happen to differ from the opinions which they entertained. That was an additional reason for hearing him. He, for one, did most anxiously hope that they would profit by the information.

Mr. McDONNELL continued. He asked for a

hearing, as he should only state facts. He could assure them that the immigration to the West-Indian Colonies had been supported by the most eminent men, by Lord Elgin, Lord Grey, Sir Henry Barclay. He assured them that they must not allow their minds to be biased, for that in no other way was Slavery and the slave-trade to be abolished, but by encouraging the immigration of free labour, and by producing sugar and other articles, usually cultivated by slaves, in a free country. They might listen to as many statements to the contrary as they pleased, but until they could produce articles at a cheaper rate, they would not succeed. Although articles were grown in Cuba by slaves, it came into the market at the light duty. What they wanted was fair-play—to be allowed to import free labour, under the strictest regulations. God forbid that they should support Slavery—no Englishman could defend that. When the inquiry was made, for which he had held up his hand that evening, they would learn the truth. He was as anxious as most men on the subject, and he would say, if they found the least abuse, "Crush it, and crush the man that is guilty of it."

The SECRETARY rose to reply to the last speaker. He was extremely glad that an opportunity was afforded to their friend of addressing the Meeting. With regard to the importation of hill Coolies into Jamaica, Mr. McDonnell's statements were not strictly correct. From an official document, a copy of which he then held, he found the number of Hill Coolies which had been introduced into Jamaica since 1845 was 4551. With regard to the large amount of money, trinkets, and so forth, which these people were said to take away, he had within the last two or three days gone through a book of that colour, (the speaker here produced a Government Blue-Book), and he could assure them that although in the aggregate, the amount that these Coolies took away appeared large, if they analyzed how much each had, they would find that it amounted to about 2*l.* in five years, and that many who took away large sums, obtained them in the most disgraceful manner. There was no such thing as free immigration, and fraud and misrepresentation were practised upon the Coolies to almost any extent. He affirmed, on the authority of Government statistics, that representations were made to them that they were to be paid at the rate of 1*s.* 4*d.* a-day, whereas, on their arrival at the colonies, they did not get more than 7*d.* a-day, out of which they had to keep themselves. He could not, before a promiscuous meeting, attempt to give an idea of the manner in which many of the Coolies obtained the money which they took away with them from the island; he could only say that much of it was obtained in vice, and that of the most odious character. He maintained that the West-India body had, for a series of years, most assiduously taxed the colonies, in order that they might not pay the entire cost of immigration themselves. But the Society considered that if immigration was permitted at all, the whole cost ought to be borne by the planters who profited by the labour; and especially after 20,000,000*l.* had been paid by this country for the release of the slaves. After receiving that large sum, they had no right to come to the people of this country to ask them to give or to guarantee more money,

in order to enable them to carry on their business. If they had not capital to do it themselves, let them throw up their estates, and leave better men to come in. He believed that no sensible assemblage would refuse its sanction to a resolution of the kind then before that Meeting.

STEPHEN BOURNE, ESQ., in supporting the resolution, said he had been many years in British Guiana, and could corroborate the statements of his friend Mr. Barrett. Without detaining the Meeting, he would say that they were all agreed that an inquiry into this subject was necessary. How could that be done? only by a Committee of the House of Lords; and therefore it was not worth while for them to differ upon small matters as to whether one was right or the other was wrong. Let them join in the Memorial to the Duke of Newcastle to grant a Committee.

The CHAIRMAN said that the very circumstance of statements having been made by a gentleman from the West Indies contrary to the statements of those who preceded him, so far from being an argument against the resolution, was the strongest possible reason for a resolution to promote inquiry. (Hear, hear.) If it were not made, they might to the end of time say, "The planter pays the Coolie too little wages—only 1*s.* 3*d.* a week, when he ought to pay him 1*s.* 6*d.* The planter pays the negro too little wages; if he paid more there would be no want of hands." If it rested upon that the planter would say, and the planter's advocates would repeat the old observation, "There are no two things which men are more generous of than other people's money and their own advice." (Laughter and cheers.) He was anxious they should have the inquiry to shew that they were right if they were so; and if they were wrong, that the inquiry should prove them to be so. The principle upon which they proceeded was, that labour might be had for labour's worth, and that the labourer was worthy of his hire. If they proved that this labour could be had without stint, they would prove, not that they (the Society) were generous of other people's money or of their own advice, but that other people's money ought to be paid for services which they obtained from other people, both for the sake of him who paid and of him who received it. The result of the inquiry might be that they should be proved right, but until the inquiry was completed they could only guess in the dark. He thought it his duty to say these very few words before putting the question.

The resolution was then carried unanimously.

Dr. HODGKIN moved a vote of thanks to the noble Chairman. He was sure they must all most cordially feel that he had done them great good by giving them his presence there that evening. He referred to the strenuous and successful efforts of the noble Chairman and others for the abolition of the slave-trade, and looked upon his attending that Meeting as calculated to kindle the fire in a succeeding generation that finds similar work to do. He deprecated the idea that that Meeting was antagonistic to our West-India and other colonies. He believed that the inquiry they sought would do them a vast amount of good.

Mr. E. H. GLADSTONE had come in only at the close of the Meeting, or he would have been

exceedingly pleased to add his testimony upon the subject brought before it. There had been apparently opposition, but the matter had been so ably placed before them by the noble Lord who presided, that with one heart and with one soul they desired the Committee which it was proposed to have. He thought that all who had given any study to the subject must have felt with himself that they were exceedingly in the dark. There were statements on the one side and statements on the other side, and he could not suppose that a single individual could desire any thing but light upon the subject. They were all, he believed, leaving that place anxious for the inquiry, and it only remained for him to second, which he did with great pleasure, the motion for a vote of thanks to Lord Brougham for his presidency on that occasion. Long might his Lordship live to uphold the cause, and might he live to see every vestige of tyranny and oppression wiped from the face of the earth.

The motion being carried with acclamation,

The CHAIRMAN, in reply, said: I return you my very hearty and most sincere thanks for the great kindness with which you have received me upon the present occasion. I have long been a labourer in the cause—I may say for sixty years. When you have wished me—as my friend Mr. Gladstone has been kind enough to do, and you have been good enough to receive—a long continuance of life, I might say, that it would be no comfort, but great misery, to continue that life, were it to be passed in such frightful scenes as, in contemplation, we have passed through and suffered during the last four or five weeks—scenes of slaughter, wholesale slaughter, in the fairest part of Europe, which I cannot refer to without expressing my deepest sorrow and my hearty reprobation of whoever was the cause of it, and my thankfulness to heaven for its having now ceased.

The Meeting then separated.

C. H. LANGSTON ON THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

WE referred in our last to C. H. Langston's speech, which we promised to give in this month's *Reporter*. We now fulfil our promise. C. H. LANGSTON is one of the defendants in the Ohio rescue case, who has been condemned by the United States District Court to fine and imprisonment for helping off a fugitive. Previously to his being sentenced he made the following speech, which we feel sure will excite much interest and sympathy for him and his companions in misfortune.

"I am, for the first time in my life, before a court of justice, charged with the violation of law and am now about to be sentenced. But, before receiving that sentence, I propose to say one or two words in regard to the mitigation of that sentence, if it may be so construed. I cannot of course, and do not, expect that which I may say will in any way change your predetermined line of action. I ask for no such favour at your hands.

"I know that the courts of this country, that the laws of this country, that the governmental machinery of this country are so constituted as

to oppress and outrage coloured men, men of my complexion. I cannot then, of course, expect, judging from the past history of the country, any mercy from the laws, from the constitution, or from the courts of the country.

"Some days prior to the 12th of September 1853, happening to be in Oberlin on a visit, I found the country round about there, and the village itself, filled with alarming rumours as to the fact that slave-catchers, kidnappers, negro-stealers were lying hidden and skulking about, waiting some opportunity to get their bloody hands on some helpless creature, to drag him back, or, for the first time, into helpless and life-long bondage.

"These reports becoming current all over that neighbourhood, old men and women, and innocent children, became exceedingly alarmed for their safety. It was not uncommon to hear mothers say that they dare not send their children to school for fear they would be caught up and carried off by the way. Some of these people had become free by long and patient toil by night, after working the long, long day for cruel masters, and thus at length getting money enough to buy their liberty. Others had become free by means of the good will of their masters; and there were others who had become free—to their everlasting honour I say it—by the intensest exercise of their own God-given powers, by escaping from the plantations of their masters, eluding the bloodthirsty patrols and sentinels so thickly scattered all along their path, outrunning bloodhounds and horses, swimming rivers and fording swamps, and reaching, at last, through incredible difficulties, what they, in their delusion, supposed to be free soil. These three classes were in Oberlin, trembling alike for their safety, because they well knew their fate should those men-hunters get their hands on them.

"In the midst of such excitement the 13th day of September was ushered in—a day ever to be remembered in the history of that place, and, I presume, no less in the history of this Court—on which these men, by lying devices, decoyed into a place where they could get their hands on him—I will not say a slave, for I do not know that—but a man, a brother, who had a right to his liberty under the laws of God, under the laws of Nature, and under the Declaration of American Independence.

"In the midst of this excitement, the news came to us like a flash of lightning, that an actual seizure, under, and by means of fraudulent pretences, had been made!

"Being identified with that man by colour, by race, by manhood, by sympathies, such as God has implanted in us all, I felt it my duty to go and do what I could toward liberating him. I had been taught by my revolutionary father, and I say this with all due respect to him, and by his honoured associates, that the fundamental doctrine of this Government was, that all men have a right to life and liberty, and, coming from the Old Dominion, I brought into Ohio these sentiments, deeply impressed upon my heart. I went to Wellington, and hearing from the parties themselves by what authority the boy was held in custody, I conceived, from what little knowledge I had of law, that they had no right to hold him. And as your Honour has repeatedly

laid down the law in this Court, a man is free until he is proven to be legally restrained of his liberty, and I believe, that upon that principle of law those men were bound to take their prisoner before the very first magistrate they found, and there establish the facts set forth in their warrant, and that, until they did this, every man should presume that their claim was unfounded, and to institute such proceedings for the purpose of securing an investigation as they might find warranted by the laws of this State. Now, sir, if that is not the plain common sense and correct view of the law, then I have been misled both by your Honour, and by the prevalent received opinion.

"It is said that they had a warrant. Why, then, should they not establish its validity before the proper officers? And I stand here to-day, sir, to say, that with an exception of which I shall soon speak, *to procure such a lawful investigation of the authority under which they claimed to act, was the part I took in that day's proceedings, and the only part.* I supposed it to be my duty, as a citizen of Ohio—excuse me for saying that, sir—as an outlaw of the United States, to do what I could to secure at least this form of justice to my brother, whose liberty was in peril. *Whatever more than that has been sworn to on this trial, as an act of mine, is false, ridiculously false.* When I found these men refusing to go, according to the law, as I apprehended it, and subject their claim to an official inspection, and that nothing short of a *habeas corpus* would oblige such an inspection, I was willing to go even thus far, supposing in that county a sheriff might, perhaps, be found with nerve enough to serve it. In this I again failed. Nothing then was left to me, nothing to the boy in custody, but the confirmation of my first belief, that the pretended authority was worthless, and the employment of those means of liberation which belong to us. With regard to the part I took in the forcible rescue which followed, I have nothing to say further than I have already said. The evidence is before you. It is alleged that I said, '*We will have him anyhow.*' *This I NEVER said.* I did say to Mr. Lowe, what I honestly believed to be the truth, that the crowd were very much excited, many of them averse to longer delay, and bent upon a rescue at all hazards; and that he being an old acquaintance and friend of mine, I was anxious to extricate him from the dangerous position he occupied, and therefore advised that he urge Jennings to give the boy up. Further than this I did not say, either to him or any one else.

"The law under which I am arraigned is an unjust one, one made to crush the coloured man, and one that outrages every feeling of humanity, as well as every rule of right. I have nothing to do with its constitutionality; about that I care but little. I have often heard it said, by learned and good men, that it was unconstitutional; I remember the excitement that prevailed throughout all the free States when it passed; and I remember how often it has been said by individuals, conventions, communities, and legislatures, that it never could be, never should be,

and never was meant to be, enforced. I had always believed, until the contrary appeared in the actual institution of proceedings, that the provisions of this odious statute would never be enforced within the bounds of this State.

"But I have another reason to offer why I should not be sentenced, and one that I think pertinent to the case. I have not had a trial before a jury of my peers. The common law of England—and you will excuse me for referring to that, since I am but a private citizen—was, that every man should be tried before a jury of men occupying the same position in the social scale with himself: that lords should be tried before a jury of lords; that peers of the realm should be tried before peers of the realm; vassals before vassals; and *aliens before aliens*, and they must not come from the district where the crime was committed, lest the prejudices of either personal friends or foes should affect the accused. The Constitution of the United States guarantees, not merely to its citizens, but to *all persons*, a trial before an impartial jury. I have had no such trial.

"The coloured man is oppressed by certain universal and deeply-fixed prejudices. Those jurors are well known to have shared largely in these prejudices and, I therefore consider that they were neither impartial, nor were they a jury of my peers; and the prejudices which white people have against coloured men grow out of the facts, that we have, as a people, *consented*, for two hundred years, to be *slaves* of the whites. We have been scourged, crushed, and cruelly oppressed, and have submitted to it all tamely, meekly, peaceably; I mean, as a people, and with rare individual exceptions; and to-day you see us thus meekly submitting to the penalties of an infamous law. Now, the Americans have this feeling, and it is an honourable one, that they will respect those who will rebel at oppression, but despise those who tamely submit to outrage and wrong; and while our people, as a people, submit, they will, as a people, be despised. Why, they will hardly meet on terms of equality with us in a whisky shop, in a car, at a table, or even at the altar of God; so thorough and hearty a contempt have they for those who will meekly *lie still* under the heel of the oppressor. The jury came into the box with that feeling. They knew they had that feeling, and so the Court knows now, and knew then. The gentlemen who prosecuted me, the Court itself, and even the counsel who defended me, have that feeling.

"I was tried by a jury who were prejudiced; before a Court that was prejudiced; prosecuted by an officer that was prejudiced, and defended, though ably, by counsel that were prejudiced; and therefore it is, your Honour, that I urge, by all that is good and great in manhood, that I should not be subjected to the pains and penalties of this oppressive law, when I have not been tried either by a jury of my peers, or by a jury that were impartial.

To be continued.